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OF

The Early and Middle Ages.

VOLUME XII.



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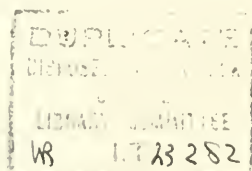
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† The Rev. F. Coarse, author of the memoir accompanying these illustrations, has kindly allowed a considerable part of their cost.

‡ For the use of this woodcut the Institute is indebted to Mr. Boguo, Fleet Street.

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The Archaeological Journal.

MARCH, 1855.

INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS.*

IN addressing a Society which has devoted itself for so long a period and with so much success to the pursuits of Archaeology, it cannot be necessary for me to occupy time by saying much either in explanation or in praise of this particular line of study. In fact, the study of archaeology is now generally accepted and understood, not only by its admirers, but by the world in general, as an extended and improved form of the study of history. It is the study of history, not only from written documents, not only from chronicles and traditions, but from chronicles and traditions elucidated by contemporaneous monuments, by tangible and substantial relics, the productions of ancient coinage, sculpture, and architecture; and,—in the case of Greek and Roman history,—not only by these, but by an invaluable series of commemorative inscriptions still extant upon marble and bronze.

With regard to some of the great nations, indeed, we have no other means of becoming acquainted with their history, than through such material records. Of the ancient history of Egypt how very little do we know excepting from her monuments. What do we know of Assyria, excepting from casual allusions in the Old Testament, and from her recently discovered monuments? And even in the case of Greece and Rome, precious as are the literary treasures of those nations which have come down to us, we possess very little of strictly contemporaneous history. Time

* This discourse was delivered by the Disney Professor, the Rev. J. H. Marsden, B.D., on the occasion of the opening meeting, at the Annual Meeting of the Institute held in Cambridge, July 4th, 1854.

has swept away full one-half ; while, of that which remains, much severe criticism is required in the separation of the trust-worthy from the fabulous, and all, without exception, stands in need of the light afforded by the study of monuments. The day is coming, when it will be confessed that we have learned more of the religious worship and the political relations of the independent states of Greece from inscriptions and coins, than from poets and historians. How much has been brought to light by the monuments, and especially by the coins, of Magna Græcia and Sicily ! Take the case, for instance, of the ancient city of Posidonia. Of this city we know little or nothing from written history, excepting that in Roman times it was celebrated by poets for its genial climate and its roses :—

“ *biferique rosaria Paesti.* ”

But when the traveller describes to us its magnificent temples, and the numismatist displays to us its long series of beautiful coins, we have unquestionable proof that it rivalled the greatest cities of Magna Græcia in population, in wealth, in commerce, and in the arts ; and that under the name of Paestum it flourished to a later date than almost any of them.

To come nearer home. How scanty would be our knowledge of the state of society in our own island, not only in its more barbarous age, but even during its occupation by the Romans, if we had not the means of ascertaining it from monuments. The state of Britain under the Romans is now tolerably familiar to us : but we have learned it not from books, but from an investigation of their works, their roads, their houses, their hypocausts, their earthenware, their coins, their ornaments and utensils, their weapons, and the vast multitude of other miscellaneous relics which they have left behind.

The monuments of ancient art are of many different kinds : they are found wherever man has existed on the globe ; and wherever they are found, there is a field for the archæologist. Life is not long enough to study them all—nor, indeed, to study those of one nation—scarcely even those of one class. No one, however energetic and hopeful, can enter into these pursuits without feeling the hopeless impossibility of carrying out the separate studies which a

general view of archaeology must comprehend. It requires a greater amount of many various kinds of knowledge than one person can hope to possess. This is, doubtless, the reason why it has not usually been admitted into the ordinary course of study ; and it was, doubtless, this consideration, which induced the founder of a Professorship of Archaeology in the University of Cambridge, to restrict the duties of his Professor to the study and illustration of one branch,—that branch being the archaeology of Greece and Rome ; a branch more immediately connected than any other with the classical studies pursued in our University.

Perhaps it will not be altogether out of place—although I am aware that it is ascending to a higher point in the stream of time than your Society has fixed upon for its operations—if I briefly allude to the remains of Greek art which are preserved in Cambridge.

In the possession of Trinity College are several Greek inscriptions upon marble, of some importance. The principal of these, is one well known as the Sandwich Marble, having been brought to England by the Earl of Sandwich, from Athens, in the year 1739. It contains a list of contributions to the expenses incurred by the expedition for the lustration of the island Delos, in the third year of the 88th Olympiad. Another is a decree made at Ilium, and brought by Mr. Edward Wortley Montague from Sigeum, in 1766 : it was presented to the College by his son-in-law, the Marquis of Bute.

In the vestibule of the Public Library, are certain inscriptions and pieces of sculpture, the principal part of which were brought to England by Dr. Edward Daniel Clarke. One of these inscriptions, which was brought from the Troad, was believed by Porson to be nearly as old as the Archonship of Eucleides, the era at which a well-known change took place in Greek palæography, about 403 B.C. Another inscription is a sepulchral one, brought from Athens, to the memory of a certain Eucleides of Hermione, whom Clarke himself believed to be the celebrated geometrician ; and, under that impression, he thought that he had found for the stelé, a congenial resting-place, among the mathematicians of this University. But there is no evidence whatever that this Eucleides was the geometrician, and the probability is decidedly against it.

One of the most remarkable of Dr. Clarke's marbles is a mutilated statue of Pan, which was found in a garden close by the grotto sacred to Pan and Apollo, below the Acropolis of Athens. As it is known that a statue of Pan was dedicated by Miltiades, in gratitude for the services supposed to have been rendered by him in the battle of Marathon, and as this statue is of a style of art corresponding to that date, it is by no means impossible that it may be the identical figure upon which Simonides wrote an ἐπίγραμμα which is now extant.

With regard to the colossal marble bust which was pronounced by Dr. Clarke to be a part of the statue of the Ceres of Eleusis, it is to be feared that he went beyond the bounds of that cautious discretion which is so properly prescribed to the archaeologist. That the figure was brought from certain ruins near the site of the temple of Ceres at Eleusis, there is no doubt, and certain travellers who had observed it there in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, believed it to be the goddess herself. But more recent travellers have held a contrary opinion. They have thought, judging from the position in which it was found, and from certain appearances on the surface of the marble, that it was a cistophora, or architectural decoration, like the caryatides of the Eretheium. It will be allowed, however, even by those critics who withhold their acquiescence from Dr. Clarke's rather too positive assertion, that the bust is a most interesting relic of Greek antiquity.

The Malcolm sarcophagus in the Fitzwilliam Museum, described by Mr. Pashley in his "Travels in Crete," and subsequently brought to England and presented to the University by Sir Pulteney Malcolm, is ascribed by Dr. Waagen to the last half of the second century of the Christian era. The subject of the sculpture, which seems to be the return of Bacchus from India, is treated in a manner spirited and original; and with the exception of one or two *lacunæ*, it is in an extremely good state of preservation.

I must not omit to mention certain Greek inscriptions very recently presented to the University by Captain Spratt, the commander of one of Her Majesty's surveying ships stationed on the coast of Greece. Three of these were discovered by him in the island of Crete, and one of these three is of very early date: the inscription being read from

the right hand to the left. But the most interesting and valuable of Captain Spratt's marbles is an inscribed slab from the Troad. This inscription is valuable on two accounts. In the first place it is valuable as having been discovered among the ruins of a temple, first pointed out by Captain Spratt, which is satisfactorily proved to be the temple of Apollo Smintheus, mentioned by Strabo and other writers, but altogether unknown to modern travellers until lighted upon by Captain Spratt within the last twelve months. That the remains are those of the temple of Apollo, Colonel Leake, than whom we can have no higher authority, has pronounced himself to be perfectly satisfied. In fact, an inscription found there by Captain Spratt, places the point beyond all doubt. The second point of interest connected with this inscribed slab, is the subject of the inscription. It commemorates the fact of a certain Greek, by name Cassander, having been presented by each of eighteen or twenty of the cities and states of Greece with a golden crown. Each city is mentioned separately, and underneath the words *Χρυσέῳ Στεφάνῳ* in connection with the name of each city, is a representation of the crown itself, which was in the form of a chaplet of olive-leaves. To the custom of presenting a distinguished Greek citizen with a golden crown I need not do more than advert. We all remember the orations *Περὶ Στεφάνου* of the two great orators of Athens. And, if I mistake not, the effect of a sight of this inscribed marble, would be the same upon any one engaged in reading those orations, as the effect of the celebrated Potidæan *ἐπίγραμμα* in the British Museum would be upon a person reading the account of the skirmish at Potidæa, in the first book of Thucydides;—namely, to impress his mind with a sense of the reality of what he is reading, far stronger than any which could be made by the mere fact of his finding it recorded in the book.—“*Magis movemur,*” says Cicero, “*quam si quando eorum ipsorum aut facta audiamus, aut scriptum aliquod legamus.*”

It is only right that I should take this opportunity of stating that Captain Spratt's presentation of these marbles to the University, was made at the suggestion of his friend Colonel Leake.

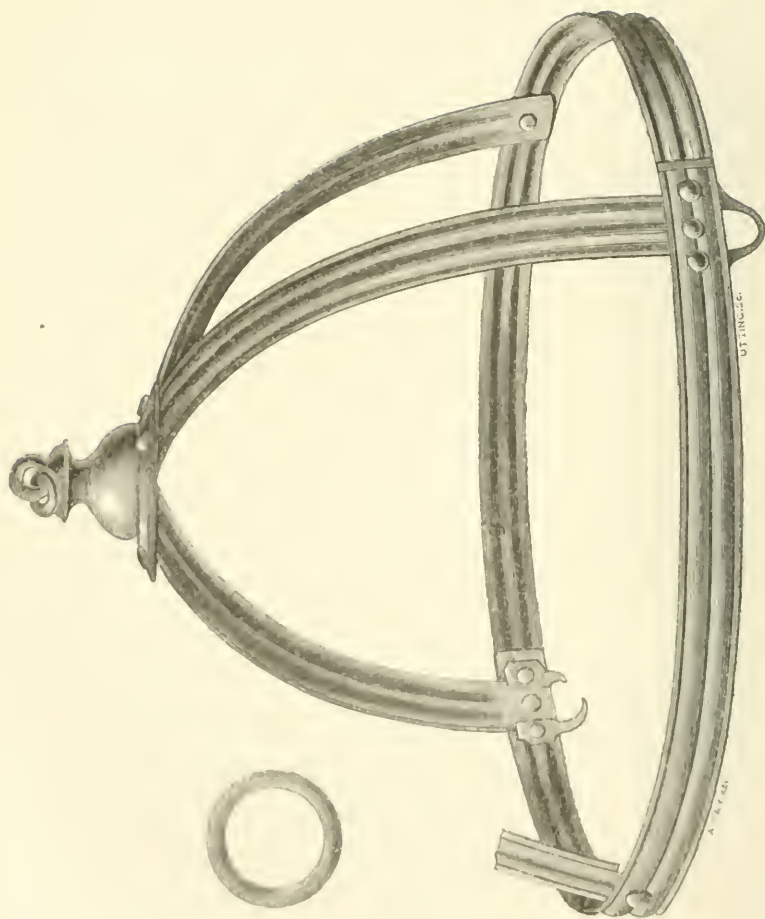
Of the numerous collection of ancient marbles presented

to the University in 1850, by Mr. Disney, it is unnecessary for me to give any minute description, as the donor himself has already done it in a very able and lucid manner in his work entitled "Museum Disneianum." By coming forward while the space was yet unoccupied, Mr. Disney secured for his marbles a position which future benefactors may look upon with envy, but to which, nevertheless, the example which he was the first to set, on so extensive a scale, fairly entitles him. And we may venture to express to my friend¹ our hope that at a very far distant period, when the beautiful edifice in which they are deposited, shall itself be the subject of curious investigation to future archaeologists, his name may still survive, as that of the earliest patron of archaeological studies in the University of Cambridge.

J. H. MARSDEN, B.D.

¹ Mr. Disney being then present.





Bronze Frame, supposed to have been attached to a head-piece of felt or leather.

FOUND WITH AN INTERMENT NEAR THE CAMP ON LECKHAMPTON HILL, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

Scale, two thirds of the original.

NOTICE OF A BRONZE RELIQUE, ASSIGNED TO THE LATER
ROMAN OR THE SAXON AGE, DISCOVERED AT LECKHAMPTON,
GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

DURING the autumn of the year 1844 a discovery occurred at Leckhampton, Gloucestershire, in a district full of vestiges of early occupation, which excited considerable interest. A short statement, communicated at that time, was published in the first volume of this Journal, and the subject was noticed in other archaeological publications. The novel feature of the discovery consisted in a bronze frame, supposed to have been attached to a head-piece of leather or felt, a purpose to which, by the dimensions and general fashion it appeared to be adapted. It was considered by the late Sir Samuel Meyrick to have been the British "Penffestyn," possibly from the position of the skeleton being described as "doubled up," as frequently noticed in interments of the earliest age, or from its having been found near a supposed British fortress.

Other antiquaries have regarded it, however, as an Anglo-Saxon relique, a supposition to which Mr. Roach Smith, in his "Collectanea Antiqua," seems inclined to assent, although conclusive evidence may be wanting.¹ The Abbé Cochet, also, in the second edition of his valuable "Normandie Souterraine," has, without hesitation, admitted this object as a *coiffure* or *casque Saxon*.²

The attention of archaeologists has recently been directed to this singular relique, through the kindness of Capt. Henry Bell, of Cheltenham, in whose possession it has been preserved. At the request of Mr. Allies, he sent it for exhibition at the meeting of the Institute in December last. No detailed investigation of its age and character having been

¹ Collect. Antiqua, vol. ii. p. 238, where a representation of the bronze frame is given.

² Normandie Souterraine, 2nd edit. 1855, pp. 17, 393; it is remarkable that in his extensive researches the Abbé

Cochet has found no example of any head-piece of the Frankish period. He notices at some length the remains of *situlce*, which certain antiquaries have erroneously described as the remains of some protection for the head.

given, I have availed myself of the obliging permission of Capt. Bell, to offer a more accurate representation than hitherto published. In the advanced state of information regarding vestiges of the later Roman period and of that immediately succeeding, upon which valuable light has been thrown by the exertions of the Hon. Richard Neville, Mr. Wylie, Mr. Roach Smith, Mr. Bateman, and other antiquaries, it appears desirable to invite attention anew to this unique relique, and that its real age and purpose should be ascertained.

To those who are acquainted with the picturesque and undulated flank of the Cotswold Hills, to the south of Cheltenham, overlooking the broad fertile plains of Gloucestershire, it can be no matter of surprise to find abundant traces indicating that the locality had been successively occupied by a considerable population in British, Roman, and Saxon times. Of the earlier period, vestiges present themselves in numerous barrows along the margin of the higher ground, of which some have been examined by Lysons, and more recently by Mr. Gomonde and other members of the Gloucestershire Archaeological Society; in the encampments also on Crickley Hill and the height above Leckhampton. Near the former of these, at Dry Hill Farm, distant about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Cheltenham, a Roman villa of considerable extent was excavated about 1849, by Capt. Bell and Mr. W. H. Gomonde, by whom an account was printed for presentation to his friends. South-east of that spot, near the Ermine Street, is the site of the villa at Witcomb, explored by Lysons; similar remains occur between the Ermine Street and Cubberley, and other traces of Roman occupation might be noticed. Interments have been found on Wistley Hill, near the road to Cubberley, on Crickley Hill, and at several other places. At Cubberley there are vestiges, it is believed, of a Saxon village.

The extensive camp on Leckhampton Hill occupies a commanding position in the chain of ancient encampments which extended through the south-western parts of Gloucestershire from the Avon to Bredon Hill, the frontier fortresses, as it has been supposed, of the *Dobuni*.³ It was just

³ See a notice of the camps on Leckhampton Hill and Crickley Hill in the *Memoir* by Mr. Lloyd Baker on the chain

of ancient hill-fortresses in Gloucestershire above mentioned. *Archæologia*, vol. xix. p. 171.

below that camp, near the road leading over the higher ground towards Stroud, that the discovery which is the subject of this notice occurred, as related in the following statement received in October, 1844, from the Rev. Lambert B. Larking :—

“A few weeks since, some labourers, in digging for gravel on the hill above the Manor-house of Leckhampton, about two miles from Cheltenham, suddenly came upon a skeleton, in a bank at the side of the high road leading from Cheltenham to Bath. It was lying doubled up, about 3 feet under the surface ; it was quite perfect, not even a tooth wanting. On the skull, fitting as closely as if moulded to it, was the frame of a cap, consisting of a circular hoop with two curved bars crossing each other in a knob at the top of the head. This knob, finishing in a ring, seems to have been intended for a feather or some such military ensign. The rim at the base is nearly a perfect circle, and the bars are curved, so that the entire framework is itself [semi] globular. The bars are made apparently of some mixed metal, brass fused with a purer one ; they are thin and pliable, and grooved ; the knob and ring are brass, covered with verdigris, while the bars are smooth and free from rust. When first found, there was a complete chin-chain—of this only three links remain, those next the cap are very much worn. The skull is tinged at the top with green, from the pressure of the metal, and in other parts blackened, as though the main material of the cap had been felt, and the bars added to stiffen it. They are hardly calculated, from their slowness, to resist a sword cut, but the furrowed surface gives them a finish, and proves that they must have been outside the felt. Nothing else, whatever, was found. A black tinge was distinctly traceable all round the earth in which the body lay.”⁴

A sketch of this bronze frame-work was kindly sent to me at a later time by Mr. Gomonde, and engraved in this Journal.⁵ It was described by him as found near a Roman burying-ground ; Sir S. Meyrick, however, to whom it had been shown by Mr. Gomonde, considered it, as has been already mentioned, to be the British “Penffestyn,”⁶ or skull-cap, mentioned in the Laws of Howel Dda.

⁴ Communication from Mr. Larking to Mr. T. Wright, *Archæol. Journal*, vol. i., p. 336.

⁵ Vol. iii., p. 352.

⁶ In the Glossary of terms of British Dress and Armour, by the Rev. John

Excavations were made on the adjacent part of Leekhampton Hill, and part of an iron bridle-bit, with a ring for attaching the rein, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter (figured in Mr. Gomonde's "Notes on Cheltenham," pl. xi.), an iron spear-head, and a curved implement of singular fashion were found, with fragments of urns of glossy black ware, formed with small perforated handles as if for suspension. These reliques were disinterred between the quarry where the bronze skull-cap was found, and the road to Birdlip.⁷

Coins of Constantine and broken pottery, assigned to the Roman age, were discovered in the immediate vicinity. Another remarkable interment was found near the spot where the skeleton with the bronze frame had been brought to light. In this instance, the body had been deposited in clay, and the remains were much decayed by moisture; the clay surrounding the skull was full of iron studs, sufficiently indicating, as Mr. Gomonde believed, that the head had been protected by a cap of singular construction, covered over with these iron studs.⁸ A bronze spear-head, finely patinated, now in Capt. Bell's possession, may deserve mention, having been found, as stated, on Leekhampton Hill.

The rare occurrences of any object of armour amongst the antiquities of the earlier periods found in our country, whilst weapons, personal ornaments and domestic appliances are found in profusion, may, I would hope, justify the detailed character of the present notices. With the exception of the bronze helmet discovered in forming the canal near Northcote Hill, Herts, and represented in the "Vetusta Monumenta," and another remarkable head-piece of bronze, consisting of a skull-cap with a perforated tube of considerable length on its apex, found in 1843, at King's Arms Yard, Moorgate Street, London, no reliques of the like description have fallen under my notice. The last named

Williams, of which part appeared in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, the *Penffestyn* is explained to be a helmet. "Frollo struck Arthur on his forehead, so that the sword was blunted on the rings of his penffestyn." *Gr. ab Arthur*. Under the word *Helm* it is shown that the *Penffestyn* and the *helm* were distinct.

⁷ *Journal of the Archaeological Association*, vol. i., p. 13. Mr. Gomonde has given a map of the ancient sites and representations of the bronze frame with

other antiquities discovered, in his "Notes on Cheltenham, Ancient and Medieval," 8vo, 1849. Privately printed.

⁸ *Archæol. Journal*, vol. iii., p. 353. An account of the examination of three barrows in this locality by Mr. Gomonde and Capt. Bell, in December, 1844, is given in the *Journal of the Archaeological Association*, vol. i., pp. 152, 154. In one of these four perfect skeletons were found, placed side by side, the heads to the east, the legs drawn up to the chin.

remarkable object remains, as I believe, in the possession of Mr. Kirkman; it was regarded by some antiquaries as a form of the "*Penffestyn*." It bears resemblance to the *apex* or cap worn by the *Flamines* and the *Salii*, and still more closely to the head-gear seen on a votive monument found in Styria, and given by Montfaucon.⁹

The bronze relique to which I would now specially invite attention, has been already described in the account given by Mr. Larking. I may add the following observations. The hoop or rim is perfectly round, measuring $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in each direction. This fact has been regarded by some antiquaries as a conclusive argument against the supposition that this frame of metal could have formed part of any kind of head-piece. Others, however, having carefully considered the details of its construction, and the pliable nature of the frame, formed of metal about one-twenty-fourth of an inch only in thickness, are disposed to conclude that this round form of the rim, in its actual condition, presents no such difficulty. As, indeed, one of the plates forming this rim had become unsoldered, and has been re-united since the discovery, it is possible that a slight modification of the contour may have occurred, giving the perfectly round form which we now observe. On the other hand, it should be borne in mind, that many head-pieces, such as are worn by nations in the East, as also some of mediæval date in Europe, are of perfectly circular form, and not shaped to the skull.¹ The Roman bronze helmet found near Tring, a skull-cap, with a wide brim behind (?) like a coal-heaver's hat, is likewise perfectly round.² The constructive peculiarities, obvious on close examination of the bronze frame found at Leckhampton appear sufficiently to confirm the belief that it was a head-piece, and not as has been affirmed the upper portion of some kind of vessel or coffer. The transverse bands would, in the latter case, have been adjusted so as to cross each other precisely at right angles, and divide the little dome into four equal portions, the central knob and ring being its centre.

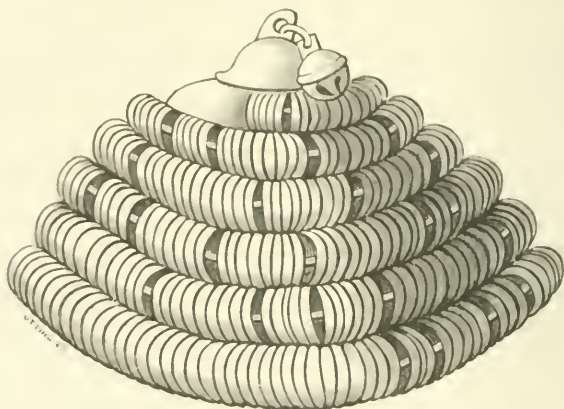
⁹ Antiqu. Expl. Supp. tome ii. p. 123, pl. 33, *bis*. This singular head-covering here appears to be worn by females.

¹ I am indebted to Mr. Hewitt's kindness for the confirmation of this statement. On examination of the examples in the Tower Armory, he assures me that "nearly all the eastern casques are abso-

lutely round, and some of the mediæval very nearly so. The bronze frame, being so light in construction, may very well have assumed, when fitted with its lining, a somewhat ovalised form."

² *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. v., pl. 26. It is not quite clear whether the projecting plate in front or behind is deficient.

This, however, is not the case ; the bands are placed so that the moiety of the frame, which would probably form the fore-part of the cap, is considerably larger than the hind-part, the effect being to throw the apex with its knob and ring backwards ; the knob itself is likewise so shaped as to incline slightly in the same direction. These details can scarcely be indicated in a drawing, but they are very perceptible in the examination of the original. The objection has also been made, that if the frame were a cap, what was the intention of the ring at the top ? Here it may suffice to point out the precise analogy of this knob and ring with the fashion of the curious cap represented in Bähr's work on the Sepulchral Antiquities of Livonia.³ (See woodcut.)



Cap found at Ascheraden, in Livonia One third of the original size.

This cap is formed of spiral bronze rings, described as strung upon wool, and on the crown is a knob from which is suspended a small bell, like a hawk's bell, attached by a ring. The Livonian tombs in question, are assigned, as I believe, to the IXth or Xth century.

It has been stated that when the relique sent for our examination by Capt. Bell was found, there was a perfect chain serving the purpose of a chin-strap. A single ring now remains, which may have been part of this : the loops are to be seen also, to which such a chain might conve-

³ Die Gräber der Liven ; Dresden, 1850, pl. v., p. 3. The author compares these head-pieces with those of the Assyrians who served in the expedition of

Xerxes, described by Herodotus as helmets of brass, twisted in a barbarous fashion. Book vii, c. 63.

niently be adjusted, and they are worn away by friction in a manner which seems to corroborate the statement.

The object of the present notice is to invite further inquiry, in the hope that the true intention and date of a unique type, amongst the antiquities of bronze found in this country, may be ascertained. No sufficient argument can be drawn from the existing vestiges of the early inhabitants of the locality, which, as it has been shown, was occupied by the *Dobuni*, by the Roman colonists, and doubtless by the South Mercian Saxons. The notion has, as I believe, been commonly adopted, that this relique belongs to the Saxon period, and this supposition is countenanced by two discoveries in this country of objects, apparently analogous in their character, accompanied by remains which may confidently be assigned to the Saxon age. The first discovery to which I allude has been recorded by Sir Henry Dryden, Bart., as having occurred near the Portway at Souldern, Oxfordshire. A skeleton was found there in 1844, laid in a cavity in the rock prepared for the deposit, and extended at full length, the head W. by S. On the right side of the head lay a pair of ornaments of bone, and about the skull were many fragments of thin brass, which, when placed together formed parts of two bands, the first measuring 7 in. long, and $\frac{3}{4}$ in. wide. This, Sir Henry supposed, had encircled the lower part of a leathern skull cap. The edges of the leather and of this brass band were held together by a thin concave brass binding, in the hollow of which fragments of leather were still to be seen. On each side of the helmet, attached to the brass band, was an ornamental hinge for a leathern chin-strap. Of the other band about 17 in. remained, in width one-eighth narrower than the first. It was probably the binding of the edge where there would be a seam, or intended to encircle the helmet close above the other binding. On both these bands were rivets, showing that the leather riveted was three-sixteenths thick. Nothing else was found with the skeleton, but several urns were discovered near it of the black pottery, showing the peculiar scored and impressed ornament which characterises the fictile ware of the Saxon age.⁴

⁴ See the account of Sepulchral remains found at Souldern, accompanied by representations of three urns, from Sir Henry

Dryden's drawings, in Mr. Wing's *Antiquities of Steeple Aston*, p. 72.

To one of our most intelligent and zealous labourers in the archaeological field, Mr. Bateman of Yolgrave, we are indebted for the second discovery, which may aid this enquiry as regards the date of the relique from Leekhampton. In this instance, however, the frame-work, precisely similar in fashion, was of iron. It was disinterred in a tumulus near Monyash, in Derbyshire. The frame was formed of ribs of iron radiating from the crown of the head, and covered with narrow plates of horn, running in a diagonal direction from the ribs, so as to form a herring-bone pattern; the ends were secured by strips of horn, radiating in like manner as the iron ribs, to which they were riveted at intervals of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch. All the rivets had ornamented heads of silver on the outside, and on the front rib is a small cross of the same metal. Upon the crown of this helmet is the figure of a boar, of iron with bronze eyes; and various remains, supposed to be of defensive armour, were found with this head-piece. These reliques, there can be little doubt, were of the Saxon age, and they are recognised as such by Mr. C. Roach Smith, who has given a full account with illustrations, in his *Collectanea Antiqua*.⁵

These facts may seem to corroborate the notion that this relique under consideration should be placed amongst Saxon antiquities, and examples of head-coverings analogous in their fashion may be noticed on coins and in drawings in the MSS. of that period. It may be objected that these are properly to be regarded as crowns, such as occur for instance on coins of the Confessor, although very early instances of the arched form of the regal diadem. In some instances the cynchealm of the Anglo-Saxon king has the aspect rather of an helmet than a crown, and appears as a conical cap formed like that from Leekhampton with transverse bands or ribs, and a knob or other prominent ornament on its apex. With these royal helms may be compared that worn by the warrior, apparently a principal officer, portrayed in the Cotton MS. Tiberius, B. V., and given by Strutt in his *Florda* as an example of military costume in the XIth

⁵ This discovery, which occurred in May, 1848, was first published in the *Journal of the Archaeological Association*, vol. iv., p. 276. See also *Collectanea*

Antiqua, vol. ii., p. 233. The citations from *Beowulf*, given by Mr. Roach Smith, regarding the Saxon crest of the boar, are exceedingly curious.

century.⁶ Amongst the singular delineations in the MS. of Cædmon's Paraphrase, preserved in the Bodleian, and written about the year 1000, certain head-coverings may be seen, to be regarded probably rather as insignia of dignity than regal, but sufficing to show that there existed at that period ornaments for the head in no slight degree analogous in fashion to that found in Gloucestershire.

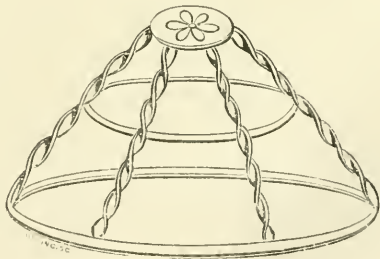
(See woodcut.) One of those here represented is worn by Lucifer.⁷ It must be noticed that these are not open arched crowns, like the royal insignia of a much later age, but caps surrounded by a frame, to which they seem closely fitted.



Arched Saxon crowns from Cædmon, MS. Xth century.

In addition to the examples supplied by the discoveries in our own country, which have been noticed in Oxfordshire and Derbyshire, I have found one object only, apparently of analogous fashion, described by foreign archaeologists. In a tumulus at Aufsee in Bavaria, in a burial-place assigned to the early Germanic inhabitants of the vallies near the sources of the Maine, a skeleton was disinterred, with a frame upon the skull, described as a kind of helm, of polished metal like gold, and free from oxidation. On the crown of the head, instead of any *apex* or means of attachment for a crest, there was a flat round plate of the size of a *thaler*, on which was engraved an ornament like a rose. This plate formed the centre of a conical frame-work composed of spirally-twisted bands, united by two or more horizontal hoops, placed at some distance apart. (See woodcut). With

this interment were deposited heads of arrows and spears, and a singular kind of horse-shoe, the space within which was plated over with iron, as in modern times a tender foot is sometimes protected by a layer of felt within the rim of the shoe. Unfortunately the



finder sold the bright metal frame for a trifle to a Jew, and no

⁶ Strutt's *Horde*, vol. i, pl. iv. Although the form is conical, and the apex is not furnished with the knob, this head-piece

well deserves attention, in connexion with that found at Leckhampton.

⁷ *Archæologia*, vol. xxiv., plate 55.

accurate representation has been preserved. It is not stated whether any trace of a chin-strap or of *bucculæ* was found.⁸

There is no sufficient evidence to determine whether the Leekhampton head-piece was intended to serve as a defence, or merely as an ornament. We might indeed more readily accept the former supposition, after the examination, for which we are indebted to Mr. Hewitt, of the latest production of modern ingenuity in the improved head-piece devised during the last year for the artillery. One of these was recently shown by him at a meeting of the Institute; the skeleton frame-work of thin brass, with the ornament on the apex, is strikingly similar, even in the mouldings of its ribs, to the ancient relique which is in the possession of Capt. Bell. This slight frame had been considered a sufficient support to the defensive cap of felt to which it is fitted.⁹

Helmets of a similar fashion have been worn at various periods; and first, I would invite attention to those which appear on Trajan's column. We there find two kinds of



longitudinally ribbed helmets, the close-fitting skull-cap with a knob on its crown, usually represented as pierced, and occasionally with a short plume affixed to it. Such a pierced *apex* would present a convenient attachment for a pendant of horse-hair, the *hirsuta juba* which appears to have frequently formed an ornament of the Roman helm.

These helmets are worn by the Roman legionaries, they have almost invariably *bucculæ*, or cheek-pieces, with a *spira* or fastening under the chin, and usually the falling piece behind to protect the neck. The examples here given show how closely this Roman head-piece resembles the relique from Leekhampton; I have selected one, a simple skull-cap, which occurs slung over the shoulder of a legionary, and another with its *bucculæ*, represented as placed on an upright stake by the side of a soldier engaged in building some

⁸ Wagener, Handbuch der Alterthümer, &c. pl. 9, fig. 92. This remarkable discovery was first recorded by Hagen and Dornmüller, Archiv für Alterthümer, Baireuth, 1831, lvo.

⁹ The "New pattern Artillery Helmet,"

produced by Mr. Hewitt, in illustration of the relique from Leekhampton, has since been considered not satisfactory, and it has been withdrawn. It was an officer's head-piece, the design apparently derived from those shown on Trajan's column.

military defence.¹ This helm very probably was the *cudo* of leather used, as we learn from Polybius, by the light-armed troops, and originally the hunting-cap, strengthened externally by ribs of metal. Another helm appears in the remarkable sculptures on the Trajan column which claims notice. This is the pointed head-piece worn by the barbarian cavalry and infantry—Sarmatians or Dacians, with ribs diverging from the spiked or knobbed *apex*, and occasionally with several parallel hoops, a remarkable feature of resemblance to the curious frame-work found in Bavaria, before noticed. A sculpture preserved at Rome in the Giustiniani Palace, represents barbarians with ribbed helms, and a knob on the top of the head.²



Ribbed Helmets, worn by
the Sarmatians.
Trajan's column.

From a comparison of these facts I am inclined to think that the interment at Leckhampton, in a locality surrounded by vestiges of the Romans, may be assigned with greater probability to the times of their dominion in Britain, than to the Saxon age. The well-polished and finely patinated appearance of the metal, would moreover suggest the notion that it is Roman bronze rather than the mixed metal of any later period. In the examination of any novel type amongst antiquities presumed to be of the Roman period, the English archaeologist should never lose sight of the probability that anomalous forms should occur, not conformable to those with which we are familiar in Italy and the dominions more closely adjacent to Imperial Rome. Auxiliaries from many remote countries subject to her sway were, it is well known, sent to Britain, and they doubtless brought with them the fashions and customs, the armour, the personal and domestic appliances with which they were familiar. At the time of the *Notitia*, one of the chief Roman cities nearest to Leckhampton, namely *Corinium*, was occupied by Thracians and Indians.

¹ The accompanying representations of helmets from Trajan's column have been taken from the carefully executed plates by Nicola Moneta, after the drawings by Salvatore Busuttil, in the valuable publication "La Colonna Trajana, illustrata da

Erasmus Pistoles." Roma: 1846. Folio. I am indebted to the learned historian of the Roman Wall, the Rev. Dr. Bruce, for the opportunity of consulting this work.

² Encycl. Method. Division of Antiquities, pl. 38.

It must, however, be admitted that framed helmets of similar forms occur long subsequent to the Roman age, in which the fashions of earlier times may have been preserved. A good example is supplied by Hefner in the subjects which he has selected from a MS. Psalter in the Royal Library at Stuttgart. He assigns its date to the tenth century, but the costume and general character of the objects portrayed



might place it as early as the eighth century. Of the two subjects here given (see woodcuts), the figure bearing the long-headed *franca* is a mounted warrior, in a tunic of scale armour. The other is a bowman on foot, armed

likewise with a scaly defence, with short sleeves ; the armour and the helmets are coloured as if to represent iron.³

Headpieces of this description must have proved very preferable to the ponderous helm of metal plate. As late as the XIIIth century, in the reign of Henry III., we find a remarkable illustration of their use in the subjects from the Painted Chamber at Westminster. The framework in these examples is mostly coloured yellow, the intervening spaces being red or purple, as if representing a cap of cloth or leather strengthened externally by ribs of gilded metal. In some instances a band appears to be laced through the lower part of the frame, probably for the purpose of attaching it to the cap, or of connecting the entire helm to the coil of mail. (See woodcuts.)⁴



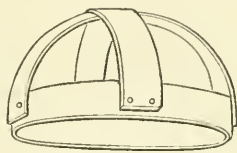
In all the examples hitherto cited, the metal framework was obviously an external defence and ornament, placed upon a cap of cloth, felt, leather, or other suitable material, such as

³ *Costume du Moyen Age Chretien*, par J. de Hefner. Division I, pl. 51.

⁴ See other examples in the careful representations by Charles Stohard, pub-

lished by the Society of Antiquaries, with a Memoir by the late Mr. Rokewode, *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. vi., pl. 35, 36.

the Roman *cudo* or *galerus* of skin, the “lether-helm” of the Saxons,⁵ the *pelluris* or the palet of cuirbouilli in mediæval times. The ingenuity of a later age devised a framework to be worn concealed within the cap for the purposes of defence. Of this Hefner gives a good illustration amongst the varied types which he has selected from a hundred helms of iron found in 1841 in a cistern at the citadel of Chalcis, in the Isle of Negropont. They have been assigned to the XIIIth and XIVth centuries. This simple and effective defence is given with those of the earlier date.⁶ (See woodcut.) An iron scull-cap of open or framed work was worn within the hat in the times of the civil wars, and examples exist in the Tower Armory, in the collections at Goodrich Court and other places.⁷ Carré, in his “Panoplie,” gives a representation of a “calotte échancrée” of this description fitted to such a form of hat as is now worn, and he describes a very light and effectual substitute as used by the French cavaliers, formed “d’une mèche tortillée excellente contre le tranchant.” This recalls the singular head-piece used by the ancient Livonians, previously noticed in these observations. (See page 14.) The most effective and ingenious defence was undoubtedly the *secrete*, or privy cap of fence, brought under the notice of the Institute by Mr. W. J. Bernhard Smith, and described in a former volume of this Journal. It is of steel, so skilfully fashioned and hinged together as to be readily folded up and carried about the person, and on any sudden alarm expanded in a few seconds and adjusted by a little bolt, forming a perfect defence against a cut from any weapon.⁸ I saw at Rouen another of these skilful productions of the armourers in the XVIth and XVIIth centuries. The late M. Langlois, also of Rouen, had one, and I have seen a fourth in Paris.



Iron head-piece found in the
Isle of Negropont.

ALBERT WAY.

⁵ In Ælfrie's Glossary, under Nomina Armorum, we find "*Galca*, lether-helm, *cassis*, iron helm, *corona*, cyne-helm, *apex*, helmes top, *crista*, helmes caub, *conus*, helmes byje."

⁶ J. de Hefner, *Costume du Moyen Age Chretien*, Division 1., pl. 63.

⁷ This concealed defence was in use as early as the reign of Elizabeth. Sir John Smythe, in his *Discourses*, 1589, f. 46, says, "The Archers on horsebacke I would have—with deepe steele skulles in very narrowe brimmd hats."

⁸ *Archæol. Journal*, vol. vii, p. 305.

ON COLOURING STATUES.

A PAPER READ AT CAMBRIDGE, AT THE MEETING OF THE ARCHEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE
OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND IN 1854.

By RICHARD WESTMACOTT, (JUN.), R.A., F.R.S.

I do not propose to occupy the attention of the section with a history of art, nor with a description of any of the processes of sculpture ; but simply to discuss what may, in some respects, be termed a question of *taste*, (though other considerations of much importance are involved in the inquiry,) and upon which all who feel an interest in art, and in seeing sculpture practised upon some established principle, may be expected to have an opinion. The subject seems especially to call for careful consideration at this time, and I am glad of the opportunity afforded by a meeting like the present, where so many scholars, antiquaries, and artists are collected together for the express purpose of entertaining such questions, to bring forward a subject which I venture to believe will be thought well deserving their attention.

Owing to some experiments that have recently been made, it has been much canvassed whether or not statues should be coloured.

That the judgment we may arrive at will settle definitively the practice can scarcely be expected. There always will be persons who will exercise their indisputable right to please themselves, both in the mode of producing and in estimating works in those imitative arts whose first appeal is to be made through the eye. But it is important in its relation to the public education in art that the opinions of those who have studied its history and theory should, if possible, be ascertained respecting any remarkable innovation, or inroad upon long established practice. It is, in fact, the duty of those who profess art to watch over its character and interests ; and if they have reason to believe that true principles are likely to be lost sight of, or tampered with,

unhesitatingly to enter their protest, in order that the non-professional, and especially art promoters and supporters, may not be left without information and authority to direct them.

The study of the finest productions in the highest walks of the arts of design has led to the establishment of certain fixed principles, or *canons*, upon which the judgment of ages has determined that each art can alone be safely practised. These are not accidental and arbitrary regulations ; they have been fairly deduced from the most perfect known works ; whose excellence may likewise be proved to result from the presence of these elementary conditions. In the imitative arts of painting and sculpture especially, the proper limits of each have been well and carefully defined. Sufficient room has been left for the exercise of individual taste and fancy ; but any great or striking deviation from these conditions becomes an infringement of the conventional and necessary rules by which it has been determined that each art is, or ought to be, bound.

The desire for change is so strongly implanted in the human mind, that it is not easy to define its boundaries, or to say where it should cease to claim indulgence and exercise its influence. But it cannot be doubted that its gratification must be subject to some limitation, and that there must be some laws of propriety and good sense beyond which it should not be attempted to pander to it. Irregular attempts to astonish may obtain for a time the admiration, the eye-wonder of the multitude, and especially of the uneducated and unrefined, always too ready to receive with delight what is calculated to cause excitement to sensibilities that are not easily stimulated by ordinary means ; as in the lower class of drama, the utmost exaggeration of language and action are sure to have an immediate and unfailing effect on the spectators or audience, when the quiet though truthful representation of the self-same subject would in all probability appear dull and commonplace. On the same principle, in the present day, the painting and daubing of the clown's face till, literally, it loses all human character, constitutes one great source of admiration and enjoyment of that personage's *rôle* ; seems to pass for wit, and, indeed, goes far to make up the facetious character.

The expression of an individual opinion, whether of

approval or dissent in the matter before us, will very inadequately meet a question which should be argued much more broadly, and should include the consideration of whether it is right or wrong in art to paint statues. As a matter of taste, or rather fancy, it must be left to the artist and the purchaser; but the inquiry should be made on higher principles than if it were only to test the value of a caprice. The proposition to be discussed is, "Whether the practise is conformable with the principles upon which pure sculpture should be exercised?"

The grounds upon which its advocates appear to found their recommendation of this practice shall, as far as I am competent to do it, be set forth fully and fairly. So far from desiring to press my own opinions presumptuously, my object is rather to elicit argument and information; and it will be my endeavour to conduct the inquiry proposed in a liberal spirit, and with every possible feeling of respect for, and even deference to, those who now stand forward in support of what others, equally conscientiously, are disposed to consider a dangerous novelty.¹ A difference of opinion upon particular details of practice is quite compatible with the most sincere acknowledgment of the ability and talent of those from whom we may dissent upon a few insulated points. The object is to establish a truth, not to achieve a victory. But if it shall be shown that the proposed practice is not in accordance with true principles of art, it becomes the more necessary to declare it against the opinions of those whose undoubted ability may be powerful to influence the public taste. And if, after all, an objectionable practice should obtain, for a season, after a protest against it has been recorded by those who have endeavoured fairly to weigh the arguments on both sides, it will be seen that it has not been effected without a warning voice having been raised against it.

It is fair to assume that the artists who propose to introduce the novelty of painting or colouring statues, &c., conceive that such additions will *improve* sculpture. It

¹ I am happy in this place to acknowledge the value of Mr. Owen Jones's little essay upon this subject. Although I do not agree with many of that gentleman's conclusions, and must confess myself

opposed to the practice he would be glad to see established in general polychromic sculpture, his "Apology" is written in a fair spirit.

would be absurd and unjust to accuse them of recommending it on any other ground ; with the intention, that is, of injuring or deteriorating their art. When, therefore, they profess and show they are not satisfied to see sculpture practised in its simple specialty—as an art dealing with *form* only—a sufficient difficulty—it may fairly be taken for granted that they think it is deficient in some quality wanting to its perfection, and that they can supply this want by the aid of another art. It is to be lamented that if this is their feeling the proposition is not thus candidly stated, and that the Polychromists do not explain more fully and clearly than they have yet done the object they have in view, and the advantages they think will accrue to their art from it ; because then the question might at once be argued on its merits. But the advocates for the practice of colouring sculpture appear to be either unwilling or unable to enter upon any art-reasons for its adoption. Generally, they are satisfied with saying it was done by the ancient sculptors, and desire to found the modern practice upon *precedent*. It scarcely is possible to conceive that this comprehends all in the way of reason that artists of ability can give for desiring such an innovation on long accustomed practice. To advocate colouring sculpture upon no other ground than because ancient sculptors are said to have done it, seems to be simply a narrow prejudice ; and before the general body of, perhaps less well informed, sculptors, and the public, who cannot carry their respect for mere antiquity quite so far, can be expected to conform to the recommendation, surely the art-reasons for such innovation, and the principles upon which they found their new theory, should be freely explained. That sculpture among the ancients, Greek as well others, was sometimes painted or coloured, and that it had other ornamental accessories, cannot be disputed ; the fact is asserted by ancient writers, and what is still more important, monuments have been found so decorated, which place the matter beyond question and contradiction. This, then, is admitted : but this authority, taking it fully for what it is worth—and some remarks will be offered further on upon some of the most generally received quotations from ancient authors, on this subject—no more proves the propriety or the desirableness of the continuance, or rather the renewal of the practice in the present day, and in the actual

condition of sculpture, than the equally well authenticated fact of the early personages and characters of the Greek drama having smeared their faces with wine-lees, or concealed them under hideous masks, proves the propriety of suggesting to our actors and actresses to do likewise.

Again, admitting the fact, and even the value of the authority of antiquity for Polychromy, it still may be questioned, first, whether painting or colouring statues was originated by any of the great masters of sculpture; secondly, whether the practice was general in the best time of sculpture; and thirdly, whether it was employed by the best artists in their ordinary works—works, that is, not executed for a particular purpose and under special conditions—a consideration, it will be presently seen, of the highest importance in this inquiry. There is not a shadow of doubt that all these three questions, bearing on the ancient authority, may be answered in the negative.

It may be permitted here briefly to state an art-principle which will not be disputed: it may help to clear the ground for some subsequent remarks.

The legitimate province of sculpture is to represent by *form*; what is not represented by form does not come under the definition of sculpture.

If sculpture be painted it is a mixture of *two* arts: as, if a picture be relieved or raised in any part, it is also a mixture of two arts.

Let us imagine that in order to increase the effect of some well-known picture, say the Transfiguration, portions of it were raised and sculptured, so as to produce, in fact, the relief or projection of the various figures and groups. Would it not be denounced first as a most inefficient device; and, next, as an inexcusable departure from an established law of art? It is much to be lamented that while no painter of reputation, ancient or modern, has attempted so to contravene an admitted principle in his own art, professors of the sister art of sculpture, many of them artists of unquestionable talent, such as Bernini, Roubiliac, and others, have not always confined their practice within such wholesome and necessary restraint; though, with all their indulgence in the fantastic and picturesque, the sculptors alluded to are not known to have had recourse to the painter's art.

Having admitted, generally, the fact that there is the

authority of the ancients for colouring sculpture, it is now proposed to consider more at large the question, whether it is desirable to return to this practice. The legitimacy of mixing together two arts, which the principles essential to each require should be kept distinct, has already been disputed. The next inquiry will be, what are the objects to be obtained by painting or colouring sculpture ?

1. Is it to render the imitation more close to nature ?
2. Is it to attract attention ?
3. Is it to gratify the sense by adventitious decoration ?
4. Is it to give distinctness to the parts of a work when viewed from a distance.

First, with respect to close imitation.

It scarcely can be necessary to state in such a meeting as this, that it is a radical error to suppose that the province of the sculptor is to effect an exact imitation ; that is, such imitation as should produce illusion. We all know that, in many respects, this is impossible in sculpture. In others, where it is possible, the *fac-simile* representation of inferior objects, such as veils, napkins, the stuffs and materials of drapery is, as all practical sculptors know, simply the work of (a superior, it may be, but) a careful carver.

As I am addressing a general and unprofessional audience, it may not be out of place to state the principle by which the sculptor is governed in this respect. It is stated that there are certain objects in nature which do not admit of being exactly imitated in sculpture. But even if it were possible to carry the imitation of that which is the highest object of the artist's study—namely, the human figure—to such perfection as to induce the belief that it was real : that to any one entering a sculpture gallery the figures should so closely resemble nature that, at first sight, they should appear to be living men and women standing on pedestals, would not the achievement cause a very disagreeable impression ? Undoubtedly it would. At present the lover and admirer of art is gratified by the contemplation of a fine and successful work of art, *as* a work of art. His imagination supplies all that is wanting ; and he does not ask nor expect that his senses shall be deceived. Nay, the moment he could bring himself to look at it as a positive and exact imitation of a human figure : the hair, the eyes, the lips, the nails—every part coloured and tinted, like life, but without life, he would

be more disposed to shrink from than admire it. Let us for a moment imagine some well-known work,—the Apollo, the Laocoön and his Sons, the Farnese Hercules, so treated, and judge for yourselves what would be your feelings. Even such a near approximation to reality as is afforded by wax-work exhibitions,² is anything but pleasing to the generality of people, and especially persons of taste in art, though they may be amused by the talent and ingenuity shown in thus producing resemblances. The dissatisfaction felt is to be accounted for on a perfectly intelligible principle. The reason for it is to be found in the fact that wax-work approaches too near to nature to be agreeable as *art*, and yet is not near enough, or true enough to nature—nor can it ever be so—to make us forget it is art. Certainly there is no reason to believe that ancient Greek sculpture ever fell so low in taste as to have a school of close imitators of the kind alluded to ; or that the introduction of colour had any such object.³

As it is always desirable if possible to refer to existing examples, I will remind you of many sculptured works to be found in this country, from which you may form a judgment of the effect of colour in increasing the truth of imitation. I have already touched on wax-work. I now allude to the painted monumental figures still found in many of our churches. They are chiefly of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, though the practice prevailed in the earliest period of such monuments ; for the further we go back to *barbarism* in art, or to the infancy of art, the more surely do we meet with coloured sculpture. Now these are, undeniably, legitimate examples of polychromic sculpture ; and, of their kind, good examples : and what is more to the purpose, they are infinitely superior in this respect to any ancient works of the kind that have been discovered. Probably, as they are of modern date, no value whatever will be allowed them ; but had any figures or fragments resembling them been dug up in Greece or Asia Minor, there can be little doubt, judging from the examples that have been quoted, they would have been hailed by the

² I have no intention to insult legitimate sculpture by a comparison with bad common place wax work figures ; but, in all fairness, would take the best that could be produced. Even if they could be

the productions of first-rate artists the argument would equally apply.

³ The advocates for colour say it is not their object to imitate nature !

Polychromists as invaluable specimens of the practice, and triumphantly adduced as authority for its reintroduction. And how do these affect us, considered as works of art, independently of course of any interest that belongs to them on other grounds? Are not the best of them more suggestive of the toy-shop than the sculptor's *studio*? By far the most successful works of the kind, (and the effect they produce at first sight is described, by those who have seen them, as perfectly startling,) are to be met with in Spain where statues, as large as life, and represented in action, are to be seen painted with the utmost care and finish. It is known that while this taste prevailed, the sculptors laboured to acquire the skill of the best painters, that they might themselves insure all the pictorial effect possible to their statues; and as the artists of the time, the sixteenth century, were amongst the most able that Spain has produced,—as Cano, Montanes, Hernandez—these performances far surpass anything of the kind found in other countries. But, while giving them all due credit for the peculiar excellence they exhibit, several accomplished writers on Spanish art⁴ have not hesitated to record their unqualified condemnation of the practice as opposed to all true principles of sculpture. But, to show the extent to which enthusiasm, and the determination to support any favourite theory may be carried, the ingenious author of a well-known treatise on Polychromy says, “*Si une figure coloriée avec art et avec goût ne fait pas bien, c’est la sculpture qui est en défaut et non pas la polychromie.*” This is certainly taking a somewhat unusual view of the position that sculpture might be supposed to hold in the question.

In the examples referred to the gradations are studiously marked in the colours applied; complexion, half-tints, veins, the eyes—all are carefully expressed. In the very few instances in which colour has been found on ancient sculpture,—and I believe there are none of the best period of Greek art—there is no attempt at gradation. The pigment is of one *uniform* tint, and appears to be laid on, or over, a thin coating of *stucco*, which covers, and must, more or less, clog and thicken the surface of the material of which the statue is formed. The flesh is usually expressed by a dark red, but

⁴ See Ford, “Handbook of Spain;” Sir Edward Head; Stirling, “Spanish Painters.”

sometimes, judging from remains of colour on Terra Cottas, it was white. In figures on vases this frequently occurs. The eyes were of various substances, sometimes of glass or paste, sometimes metal, sometimes even of precious stones ; and there are instances of inlaying metal of a lighter colour, as silver, on bronze lips.

It has thus been briefly shown that colouring sculpture is not desirable on the ground of exact imitation ; and that the Greek sculptors of the best period of the art, who are quoted as authorities for the practice, never could have had that object in view.

The next inquiry is with respect to attracting attention. They who consider that the whole and sole object of art is to please the eye, may very consistently contend that all means that can be devised as conducing to that end are legitimate. They would, therefore, add extraneous decoration or ornament to sculpture in order to attract purchasers, by exhibiting to them either what is merely pretty or showy, or something that is calculated to excite or gratify certain feelings of mere sense. There have been, and it is to be regretted, there are artists who are open to the reproach of doing this for very unworthy purposes ; but it will be admitted, to their honour, that English sculptors are not liable to the reflection of making their art a means of corruption, by the studied display of qualities and modes of expression that can only be intended to minister to the grosser senses. But, where no such purpose is contemplated, a sculptor, jealous of his fame and of the honour of his calling, should be careful not to subject himself even to the suspicion of practising what might be termed trick or claptrap, as a means of inviting attention to his merits. It is, in fact, the mere chapman's excuse ; and, though there may be nothing absolutely wrong in it, in morals, it surely places him who adopts it in a somewhat different position from the class of artists to whom we should look for the maintenance of a high character for their profession.

The next subject of inquiry, namely, whether the object of colouring sculpture was to give distinctness to the several parts of a composition, will require a more extended consideration than has been given to the previous questions. In studying the practice of sculpture among the Greeks,—those great masters of the art whom all the modern schools

have agreed to take as their exemplars,—it must be borne in mind that, without necessarily deriving their art from any other nation or people, the *mode* of presenting it would most probably be much influenced by older and foreign usage, as the practice of other and, compared with themselves, more advanced nations became known to them. Thus, though sculpture was first known and practised in Greece later than in Egypt or Assyria (as it was also totally distinct in its types), still, though original there, the report and example of what was done in other countries would doubtless be the cause of the introduction and adoption among the Greeks of similar practices. As the custom of painting their sculpture prevailed among the older nations, it is reasonable to believe that the reports of travellers might have occasioned the introduction of a similar practice among the more recent settlers in Greece; and thus it may be considered rather as a foreign graft upon their own rude and primitive attempts at art.⁵ This supposition places the practice upon an entirely different footing to that which it would have had had it been a peculiar feature in Greek design, and originated by the great Greek masters; when of course their taste would have been made responsible for its invention. Once introduced, usage gave it a hold upon the prejudices of the people who, as sculpture at that early period of their history was only, or for the most part, used for sacred purposes or illustration, no doubt soon closely associated all these modes and particulars of representation with the popular religious feelings; and thus, probably, in the more barbarous ages of Greek art the painting of the statues of the gods became a prescribed practice. The intuitive genius of this remarkable people soon, however, improved upon the rude means which at first seemed only to be employed to produce a pretty and attractive effect in decoration. In

⁵ It may be observed here that there can be no doubt that painting with these nations was in a great measure hieratic and symbolical. In figures of mythological personages, in kings and heroes, each colour so applied, (and all are painted from head to foot,) conveyed a distinct meaning, probably recognised by the multitude, but certainly understood by the priests, as having a peculiar application. We do not sufficiently reflect in

considering monuments of this kind, that sculpture had a much more profound meaning, and was fulfilling a much more important mission in past ages than it has or perhaps ever can have with modern nations. We must always bear in mind, that it was not always produced merely to gratify a taste for art, or to furnish galleries with pleasing objects of exhibition and display.

their Polychromic architecture they appear fully to have equalled their earlier exemplars in the richness of emblazonment, while they surpassed them in the delicacy of the forms of their ornament, in the appropriateness of application, the balance of quantities, and the judgment displayed in the several combinations and juxtaposition of colours : and thus, by their refined taste, they raised to the dignity of fine art that which among a less-delicately organised people would be, and doubtless was, mere gorgeous and, comparatively, barbarous enrichment. It was the same in Polychromic sculpture ; and in studying its existence among the Greeks at the time of their best sculptors, it will be necessary, in order to judge fairly, to inquire how much of it was prescriptive, and of necessity, and how far the great masters of the art can be considered responsible as original or independent authority for statue-painting.

The period when it is agreed, by all historians of art, that sculpture attained its highest perfection, ranges between 480 B.C., and about 200 B.C. From the time, that is, when Myron and Phidias lived, and when the latter superintended the more important public works undertaken by order of Pericles, till the extinction of the immediate scholars of Lysippus, fifty or sixty years after the death of Alexander the Great.

Although an approach to a fine style of art is traceable in the schools immediately preceding the age of Phidias, yet there can be no doubt that, previous to the time of that great master, sculpture was still of a hard and exaggerated character. The sculptures from the temple of the Panhellenian Jupiter at Egina, among other valuable examples, indicate both these facts. Phidias, and those under him, effected an important revolution in art. He had the genius, and his favour with Pericles gave him the power, to break through much that was prescriptive and traditional in sculpture ; and, freeing it from these trammels, he produced what far surpassed all that had gone before it—as indeed it never has been equalled since—in the statues and rilievi which decorated the Parthenon at Athens. Still, the reformation was partial. Imitation was indeed now founded on the close study of selected forms in nature, expressed in what is known as the grand style in art ; but there is no doubt the improvement or the change did not

extend to some important details of execution. Those liberties and innovations which Phidias suggested and effected in the general treatment of historical and poetical subjects, would not be permitted in the same degree in the representation of sacred personages. He would here find himself restricted by usage, from which it was neither safe nor lawful to depart; and it is recorded that the mere introduction of two portraits, said to be of Pericles and of himself, in the accessorial rilievi that decorated the statue of Minerva, subjected the sculptor to an accusation of sacrilege. In statues of the gods, then, we must not always expect to find the free, untrammelled production of the artist; but even where great improvements may be traced in some important points, be prepared to see some characteristics preserved of the original types. Nor was the artist bound by custom alone. The priesthood, always alarmed at any change indicative of the exercise of individual and independent thought, required a strict adherence to established forms. Any very sweeping innovation in the mode of representing the gods might have shaken the faith of the common people in the religion itself, and then, of course, as a necessary consequence, in its teachers and ministers. In this respect, then, there was policy in insisting upon his adhering to certain received dogmas in art. In obedience therefore to the universal feeling, Phidias made the statues of Jupiter at Elis, and of Minerva at Athens, of various materials. These works, we must bear in mind, were the offerings of a grateful people for most important victories achieved over a powerful enemy who had threatened their very existence as a nation. They were to be made out of the spoil taken from the vanquished foe. The Minerva especially was voted to crown the triumph over the Persian hosts, after the failure of the expedition into Greece under Xerxes. The old and accustomed means, namely, the employment of rich and varied materials, were, of course, adopted equally on this occasion. Ivory and gold, painting and inlaying, and every conceivable enrichment, were lavishly bestowed in order to make these votive statues the most costly of dedicated gifts. But *chryselephantine* and *polychrome* sculpture were not first known or invented at this time, nor was Phidias the first sculptor, by many, who

practised it. Fortunately for art the greatest sculptor who ever lived illustrated Greece at this period ; and thus it was that the richest works in sculpture, in material, were also, by a happy accident, the most perfect productions of art ; but surely no one would attempt to argue that they were the most perfect works of sculpture *because* they were composed of gold, ivory, or any other particular material, or because they were painted and enriched.

It is not necessary to describe these works in detail, but it is difficult for the imagination to conceive anything more splendid and gorgeous than the effect of their varied enrichments, viewed in combination with fine architecture, the details of which were also richly coloured, and glistening under the bright sun and cloudless sky of Greece. The most poetical fancy would probably fail in attempting to picture to itself the real brilliancy of the scene, taken as a whole. But, as critics, let us not lose sight of the important fact that we are judging the works alluded to only in a large combination—as objects of *spectacle* and display. Does it follow that, considered individually, as works of sculpture, the variety of materials and the flutter of colour would not be injurious to them, as these attracted admiration, instead of its being drawn to those finer and simpler qualities which should specifically claim attention in this art. The fact is, the sculpture so applied lost its distinctive or special character. It was a portion of an architectural effect. Colouring, we know, was extensively employed in architectural decoration, and when the sculptor was called upon to act in combination with the architect, his work, no doubt, was subject to the same laws of treatment as other parts of the composition. He placed his groups in the pediment with its enriched coloured mouldings, against a background, sometimes painted blue—perhaps to imitate the sky, but quite as likely merely to give increased distinctness and relief to his figures. He further increased their effect, as portions of a general design, with gilding and other accessories, and no doubt, also, sometimes with colour. But in all this, his object was to make his sculpture subserve to the whole effect. In short, it became necessary to adapt the sculptures, in colour and in finery, so to speak, to the objects around them ; so that in fact, as we are now considering it, instead of a principal it became a subordinate and only ministerial accessory.

The necessity for giving this distinctness to the several parts of a work which was to be viewed from a distance, would perhaps be considered a justifiable ground for colouring sculpture. Many objects would probably be so placed that, in their unassisted simplicity of uniform colour, they could not be judged of in themselves, nor would they under some possible conditions, be sufficiently separated or detached from the architecture to be seen at all. The treatment of the frieze of the Parthenon, one of the finest examples of the class of art existing, illustrates this speculation ; while the peculiar technical treatment of these bassi-rilievi shows how deeply the ancient artists studied the various requirements arising out of such circumstances in the preparation of their works. I need not now speak of the peculiar flat execution of the sculpture, but will observe that the darker and decided colour of the background—for it appears on examination that even now there are remains of blue colour discernible—may be accounted for, independently of its architectonic condition, as a means of giving distinctness and relief to the horsemen and other figures in the procession. The reason for such adventitious aid to their effect will be found in the position this frieze occupied in the decoration of the temple, and in consequence, the peculiar quality and limited quantity of light it could receive.⁶

Now, so far as we have proceeded, the only two intelligible grounds for the introduction of colour in sculpture among the Greeks seem to be, first, to assist in giving completeness to architectural effect, and secondly, to insure distinctness to the parts of the sculpture itself. No one will argue that

⁶ Among our obligations to the committee of artists who have so carefully arranged the various courts at the Crystal Palace at Sydenham, must be noted, especially, the opportunity they have afforded the public of judging of the effect of the employment of colour in sculpture and architecture respectively. Upon its applicability to the latter art it is not necessary here to offer any remark. Polychromy in architecture has received full attention, and has been most ably discussed by many eminent writers. Where painting has been applied to insulated sculpture (for the frieze of the Parthenon must be so considered as it is here presented to us), it surely is not asserting too much to say

the bad effect it produces is quite enough to insure its unqualified condemnation. The experiment here made of the light blue background only, with the *rilievi* left white upon them, is sufficiently unsatisfactory ; but the grey, white, black and brown horses, and their flesh-coloured riders, with their gilded heads of hair, all so admirable and so perfect in their simple art, are here degraded into tawdry toys. It is remarkable, also, that the figures appear now to have lost their symmetry, and the composition its unity, while all the finer qualities of detail in which they in fact abound, are entirely suppressed, or lost sight of.

in either case the object of the artist was to give to sculpture something it required, or was in want of, for its perfection.

It remains now to make a few remarks on the ancient authorities for colouring (Greek) sculpture. In the first place, the presumption is very strong that the assumed fact that the finest Greek sculpture was ever systematically coloured, rests on very questionable foundation. It is rather taken for granted from certain vague expressions of comparatively late writers, than proved from contemporary authority, or from any experience we have of the fact as a matter of universal custom. Pliny and Pausanias, and a few other writers, living long after the date of the sculptors whose works they refer to, mention works so treated ; and modern critics, few, or none of them practical artists, have founded various speculations upon these imperfect data. It certainly is remarkable, if the practice ever prevailed to the extent that is pretended, that among the very large number of marble statues of a fine period of art that remain to us to attest the indisputable superiority of the ancients in sculpture (proper), there is not a single example of the practice alluded to. It will not do to say this is owing to the great age of the works, and the accidents to which they have been exposed, for many of them have been found under circumstances that have insured their integrity a sufficient time to show the original surface. Besides, there was a period when the works of the ancients were studied and imitated in Rome with the most scrupulous exactness. The chambers of the Baths of Titus, and of the Villa of Hadrian, have given their long-concealed and well-preserved treasures of art to the light, after preservation from injury for centuries ; and while the colours of paintings on walls have been found as bright and fresh as when they were executed, none of these even comparatively late works in sculpture have been found painted, or showing any indication of colour, in the way the admirers of *polychromy* have pretended. There is no intention here to deny the mere fact that colour was sometimes employed, but only to dispute the universality of the practice, and its being usual in the best period of sculpture.

The poetical and fanciful imaginings of certain writers have no doubt been accepted by some modern commentators on art as the statement of facts, and this has probably led to

considerable misapprehension ; and as artists have not always the time or opportunity to inquire or examine for themselves into the value or correctness of the statements made to them, they are often unfairly influenced to adopt, as usages of the ancients, practices which, if they ever obtained at all, were partial and exceptional. A few examples of accounts of statues, improved or embellished by the authors who describe them, will illustrate the character of some of these so-called authorities, and a very little reflection will show how little such descriptions can be relied on.

A sculptor named Aristonidas is recorded as the author of a bronze statue which represented Athamas sitting, overcome with remorse, after the murder of his son. In order to express with greater truth the effect of confusion and shame, the artist mixed iron with the bronze; and this, "by its redness shining through the brightness of the bronze," caused an appearance on the surface like a *blush*.⁷ Now iron is not red, to begin with ; and then the redness is described as shining through the "*nitorem*" of the bronze, as though bronze were a transparent material.

Again, another ancient authority is quoted as recording that Silanio (an artist who lived about 320 B.C.) made a statue representing Jocasta dying, and that by a peculiar mixture of the metals used in the composition of this work, a cast of *paleness* was given to the countenance.⁸

It is scarcely necessary to say that these accounts are utterly undeserving of credit—so far as they assert that those expressive tints were produced by any possible mixture of metals ; for the term used is "*miscuit*," "mixed together." Any one who has the slightest acquaintance with metallurgy must know that the effects thus described are incompatible with the *fusion* of the different metals used for bronze statues : and even supposing, for the sake of argument, the possibility of keeping the metals distinct in a common melting, how then would it be possible to insure the blush or the pallor coming in the right place ? It would not be easy to determine the precise colour that such materials should assume when they are intended to represent such refinements

⁷ "Aristonidas artifex cum exprimere vellet Athamantis furorem Learcho filio residentem poenitentia, *as, ferrumque miscuit*, ut rubigine ejus per nitorem aeris relucente exprimeretur verecundiae rubor."—PLIN. N. H. xxxiv.

⁸ Εἰς τὸ προσώπον ἀργύρου τι συμμίζει τὴν τεχνίτην, ὅπως ἐκκλιπόντος ἀνθρώπου καὶ μαραινομένου λάβη περιφάνειαν ὁ χαλκός.—PLUT., Symp. v.

as the *complexion* of persons under the influence of strong emotions, but we have yet to learn that the addition of *red* cheeks or a *pallid* countenance would be an improvement to a *bronze* statue. It is probable that such works, as they are here described, never had any existence but in the imagination of the writer. The fact of one of these authors mentioning the peculiarity of the work alluded to as an "*ou dit*," rather strengthens this opinion; for Plutarch does not, as is generally assumed, describe a work he had seen, or that even existed in his time. As its reported author lived between three and four hundred years before the birth of Christ, and Plutarch not till nearly one hundred and fifty after that event, thus comprising an interval of between five and six centuries, considerable allowance must be made for those who presume to entertain doubts. "They say," or "it is said," cannot, in a practical matter like this, where there is no adequate contemporary testimony, nor any remaining monuments, be received as sufficient evidence or authority. In the other instance alluded to, of the statue of Athamas, Pliny says "*hoc signum extat Thebis hodierno die*," but he does not say he had seen it.

Callistratus describes, among several similar examples, a Cupid, the work of the celebrated Praxiteles. In enlarging on its claims to admiration, he says there was on his cheeks a vivid blush.

In marble statues the colour might be put on; but this must have been very coarsely, and almost in patches. Pausanias mentions various works of the kind painted with vermilion. Among others he speaks of a statue of Bacchus that was made of gypsum, and painted—another of gold, or gilt, with the face painted red.⁹ Some fragments of statues were exhumed at Athens in the year 1835-6, on which colour was found, laid on in thick coats. Among them was a female figure, of which the face, the eyes, and the eyebrows were painted.

I will venture to add one more illustration from M. Quatremère de Quincy's celebrated work, in proof of the inadequacy of ancient authority, or that which is quoted as such, to establish any fixed doctrine upon this contested subject. There was a statue of a Bacchante, attributed to Scopas, who held,

⁹ I have not thought it necessary to multiply my references to works of the kind. Those who would examine further may consult the well-known essay of M.

Quatremère de Quincy, "*Sur le Jupiter Olympien*," who has collected all, or nearly all, the notices to be found in ancient writers upon this curious subject.

instead of a thyrsus, an animal (a kid) with its entrails exposed; the marble represented the livid flesh, and one sole material offered the imitation of life and death, &c. : “*Erat autem illud capellæ simulacrum lividi coloris. Etenim suum cadaveris quoque induerat speciem, numque et eandem materiam in mortis et vitæ imitationem diviserat.*”¹ The commentator on this passage supposes here, says M. Quatremère de Quincy, that Scopas had availed himself of a vein of marble which he found resembled the colour of the dead animal: “*Nempe in marmor incidisse artificem aliquâ parte lividum, quam partem ille cautè in effigendum capellæ mortuæ imaginem verteret.*” M. Quatremère de Quincy at once protests against this far-fetched explanation. He perceived in a moment its absurdity, or, at least, improbability, and enters into particulars to show that such an account of the wonders displayed in this work was quite inadmissible. He truly says, “*Cette hypothèse pourrait bien n’être qu’une méprise*”—and then goes on to say, “*Il est plus simple d’imaginer*”—something else—and gives his own quite as fanciful speculation as to how the performance was accomplished.

Now the above are some of the leading authorities upon which stress has been laid for the fact of the ancients having habitually coloured their sculpture. Can it be seriously proposed to establish a general practice upon such doubtful expressions and insulated examples as these, and then to call it the authority of the ancients? As reasonable would it be to take the authority of antiquity literally, and to affirm that living busts could be produced out of blocks of stone, or that bronze may be made to breathe, because we find in ancient writers such expressions as “*vivos—è marmore vultus,*” or “*spirantia—æra,*” or believe that pictures and statues lived, because it is said—

“Et cum Parrhasii tabulis, signisque Myronis,
Pheidiaeum vivebat ebur—”

with endless other instances of the kind.²

But admitting, for the sake of discussion, the argument of authority. If the great sculptors of antiquity bowed, on

¹ Τὸ δὲ ἦν χιμαῖρας τι πλάσμα περικλυτὸν τὴν χρόαν, καὶ γὰρ τὸ τεθυνηκὸς ὁ λίθος ὑπεδύετο, καὶ μίαν οὖσαν τὴν ὕλην εἰς θανάτου καὶ ζωῆς διῆρει τὴν μίμησιν.—CALLISTR. in *Bacch. Stat.*

² The descriptions of statues by Callistratus are certainly very curious and

interesting. But where, in addition to the practical difficulty referred to, there is no concurrent testimony of the time, and not a single ancient fragment of a statue, such as he describes, to support his marvellous accounts of blushing bronze cheeks and glowing countenances,

occasion, to public opinion in colouring and otherwise ornamenting statues of divinities, and others that were so far of a prescriptive character, or contributed with their art to the enrichment of architectural effects, there is still reason to believe that in their ordinary works they did not habitually use such extraneous accessories. The very manner of alluding to such works suggests that they were exceptional; and there is even authority, quite as respectable as that for colouring, for the admiration felt by the ancients for statues in pure white marble.³

It has been attempted to be proved that the "*circumlitio*," referred to by Pliny,⁴ has reference to this practice of colouring statues. It cannot, however, by any ingenuity be made to mean such painting or tinting with *different* colours as painter-sculptors are advocating. The great probability is that it refers to a most careful perfection of surface; both by giving a certain degree of finish or even polish to the marble, and probably by rubbing in a preparation—a varnish—capable of imparting a rich roundness or appearance of fatness, so to call it, (the "*morbidezza*" of the Italians) to the execution; and enveloping the whole with a warm yellowish tone of colour, anticipating by these artificial means, the mellowing effect of age. But such a general tone cannot be considered in the category of colour, as it is now proposed to use it. It has been imagined by some writers that the varnish described by Vitruvius was intended to be applied over paintings and other works in order to preserve them.⁵

To recapitulate in a few words. So far from denying that the ancient statues were sometimes coloured or painted, the authorities for the practice have been fairly produced and considered in this discussion. The mode of effecting the colouring has been shown, also on ancient authority. With respect to its application to productions in bronze, the marvellous effects of which have been as eloquently described, it

indulgence must be granted for the incredulity of those who cannot give entire faith to his statements. There is no intention to deny that the statues were produced by the artists to whom they are attributed. It is only suggested that the extraordinary accompaniments of *fused* colours, and the almost imperceptible gradations of delicate tints, must have been supplied by the elegant and poetical fancy of the writer.

³ Plin. N. H. lib. xxxvi. c. 5, and Lucian, Dial. Amores.

⁴ "Dicebat Praxiteles, interrogatus quæ maxima opera sua probaret in marmoribus, quibus Nicias manum admovisset; tantum *circumlitioni* ejus tribuebat."—Plin. xxxv. ii.

⁵ This was an opinion of M. Latronne. See Hittorf, "Sur la Polychromie" &c., p. 110.

has been shown that the authority for it is of very questionable value, and that the statements, if there be any truth at all in them, must be exaggerations. In colouring other works we now know how it was done. The description of ancient writers has been confirmed by modern discoveries, especially by the fragments that were found, as has been stated, a few years ago at Athens, painted thus coarsely, without variety or gradation of tint. Doubtless, when colour was employed, this was the ancient practice.

Since this paper was read, it has been objected in reply to the arguments adduced, that the advocates for painting sculpture do not intend to adopt or imitate this wholesale and crude colouring, nor do they intend to imitate nature. It is said it is not proposed, now, to cover statues thus coarsely and entirely, but only to introduce, here and there, delicate tints, mere indications of colour in some parts; as the cheeks, the hair, the eyes (the colour of the eyes being different from the colour of the cheeks—and yet the imitation of nature not intended!). But surely this is proposing to do under the professed protection of the authority of the ancients, what the ancients did not do. I think the advocates for colouring sculpture will in candour agree with me, that, whatever opinions may be entertained as to the desirableness of the practice, there is not the most remote hint in any reliable written authority, nor in any recovered fragment or work of art, to indicate that this delicate and partial tinting was the ancient practice, or was ever resorted to, even exceptionally, by any of the great masters of the art—as Myron, Phidias, Praxiteles, Alcamenes, Lysippus.

And had it been employed, what would have become of all this tinting after the lapse of ages? Yet do we feel or fancy that the existing works of the best Greek schools, however we may deplore the mutilations consequent upon age and accident, seem to require such accessories? Do we feel that the Theseus and Ilyssus, the Venus of Melos, the Apollo of the Belvedere, and others, show a deficiency that colour could supply? Or in modern works, do we feel any regret that the Moses of Michel-Angelo, the bronze Mercury of Giovanni di Bologna, the Christ of Thorwaldsen, the Hercules and Lycas, or the fine statues of the Popes, by Canova, or the Michael and Satan of our own Flaxman, are without this embellishment; or believe they would be

improved by receiving it? ⁶ The modern sculpture-Polychromists would then introduce an entirely novel practice—Be it so. They may take their stand as inventors if they will; and upon this ground may endeavour to gain converts to a new system; but it is scarcely fair to profess they are, in this, following in the steps of the masters of Greek sculpture.

I have been obliged by the character of the arguments put forward by the advocates for painting statues, namely, the value of ancient authority, to make that, and I fear it has been done with much repetition, the chief object of my attention. I have presumed to question its force and its universal application to sculpture (proper), though fully admitting the fact of polychromic *ornamentation*. But if its supporters should think their favourite ancient authority more distinct and decided than has been here allowed, and that the practice of colouring statues was universal and habitual among the Greeks twenty centuries ago,—for remember the period of the greatest Greek sculptors was between five and three hundred years before Christ,—is it, after all, a sufficient reason for *our* doing it—as mere copyists? If imitations of ancient statues and ancient ideas, so far as they can be conceived independently of all ancient association or sympathies, are required, then, where it is desired, let all these presumed *appliances* be added; but surely it would be mere pedantry to insist upon them in the application of sculpture to the requirements of a people, of whatever civilised nation, who differ altogether in their religion, poetry (that is, in its machinery), feelings, and habits from the ancient Greeks; and this only because the ancient Greeks are believed to have employed them. What hope can there be of ever succeeding in making art the expression of real sentiment and living thought, if we are systematically to ignore our own age and its wants, and only to put it forward mechanically—in short as the academic expression of factitious Greek sentiment—in such classic guise as museums and galleries of ancient sculpture suggest?

⁶ It may be observed, incidentally, that the delicate tinting of marble statues would act as a prohibition to the multiplication of fine favourite works. No sculptor who had devoted time and study to the delicate painting or colouring of his sculpture could contemplate with any

degree of complacency the soaping and oiling it must undergo in order to its being moulded. Thus private collectors, galleries of art, schools of design, would all be deprived of the advantage and pleasure of possessing fac-similes of possibly very fine productions in sculpture.

The argument that this new process might be found pleasing has not been openly put forth : the professed ground of its proposed introduction being always *ancient authority* ; and we are, therefore, scarcely called upon to discuss that secondary question. But it may be as well to be prepared for that plea. The first enquiry in that case should be, who is to be pleased ? Pleasing a particular age or party is no proof of the taste being correct. The history of art affords, or should afford, sufficient warning that fanciful innovations and caprices of practice not founded on principle, although, at first, they may have had admirers and patrons, have always failed to secure a permanent footing ; and this even when, as has often been the case, their promoters have been artists of high reputation. What, for example, could be more pleasing, in the popular acceptance, than the productions and style of Giovanni di Bologna, of Bernini, and of Roubiliac ? These were all men of unquestionable genius, and great power in art, who, in their own time, were loaded with honours, and reaped the substantial reward of universal popularity, and left crowds of imitators behind them. It is not overrating them to assert that the best productions of these sculptors will bear comparison in invention, originality, knowledge of form, and execution, with anything the more modern schools have to show. And now, with all their indisputable merit, for no one can deny them this character, how are their works looked upon, and in what manner are they referred to ? As warnings to students not to indulge in fancies that are opposed to the principles of pure art. We have not now to learn that contemporary favour or popularity is no security for future fame ; and it is remarkable how surely, sooner or later, false taste meets its fate.⁷

I hope I may be pardoned for offering, in conclusion, some few observations upon a collateral subject, which has forced itself on my attention during the inquiry into the mere art-question it has been my object to illustrate. I believe it to be far from unimportant ; and I do not doubt that if my apprehensions are well founded, the higher class of Polychromist sculptors, and its advocates among amateurs, will agree

⁷ A strange reason is reported to have been given by some advocates for Polychromy for the objections that have been felt here against the proposed intro-

duction of painted or tinted sculpture : namely, that we are not accustomed to it in England. In what country, it may be asked, are they accustomed to it ?

with me in deprecating the evils which seem to threaten art by the introduction of what is at present an almost untried experiment.

There is no surer indication of the decadence of good taste in art, and therefore of art itself, than when, after a considerable degree of excellence has been attained, a passion arises for elaborate execution and ornament. What in one age is only the effect of ignorance, in another indicates corruption. The history of art, ancient and modern—for its rapid decline, even in Greece, is very remarkable—supplies us with ample evidence of this, and it is unnecessary to enlarge upon it, or to detain you while proofs are advanced in support of an indisputable fact. Barbarous and uncultivated nations in their earlier attempts at art adopt all the means that occur to coarse sensibilities to give effect to works of imitation. The employment of colours in sculpture is amongst them. In the same way, in a more advanced condition of society, when in any exercise of ingenuity or art (and it applies also to poetry and literature) a high degree of excellence has been attained, a desire of change arises; some fresh interest is anxiously looked for, and the fancy requires gratification in novel excitement. Nor is it, in art, confined to those meretricious *accessories* which have been chiefly considered in the foregoing remarks: meretricious *subjects* may also be looked for as the natural consequence or development of a taste for luxurious decoration. It should be remembered, that in the period of what has been termed the sublime style of sculpture—that of Phidias, who was distinguished as the sculptor of the Gods, and the beauty of whose works was said to have added something even to the dignity of religion,—

. . . Adeo majestas operis Deum æquavit,

it is believed the female form was never represented without appropriate drapery. It seems to be established that it was after his era that this fresh stimulus of the senses was introduced; and the undraped female figure has been exhibited from that time amongst the commonest subjects of imitation. We should not read the lessons of history in vain. Sculptors should strive not to allow their art to degenerate into a possible means of corruption. They must know how very few who contemplate undraped statues, can have the

necessary knowledge to form anything like an accurate judgment upon their merit, their truth, and the higher technical qualities of the art, and consequently, that such works can usually only address the sense, and not the understanding. They, as guardians of, and caterers to, the public taste, should avoid and protest against any innovations which, by possibility, may have a tendency to deprave that taste, or to lower the high standard of art. The class of subjects likely to be preferred for the more favourable exercise of this character of embellishment, will soon show the direction from which danger may be apprehended. The attention of sculptors will not be given to heroic representation, or to subjects that are calculated to suggest ennobling thoughts, but rather to those of an opposite tendency, the sensual class. Assuming that the ancient classical mythology will, as usual, be the field of illustration, sculptors will scarcely choose the manly and developed forms of a Hercules, a Theseus, or an Achilles, for his delicate tinting or colouring, but will naturally prefer the soft and voluptuous female form, as Venus, Nymphs, Bacchantes, Dancing-girls; or the famous courtesans of antiquity, the Glyceras, the Phrynes, and Laïses of the olden time, with no stinted exhibition of their imagined charms : or if male subjects, those of the class of Cupids, or young Bacchuses. Such as these lend themselves especially to the attractive accompaniments proposed to be introduced—the delicate tinting of flesh—but which would appear out of place, nay, probably, even very offensive in representations of more virile character. It is surely not too much to say that a male statue, such for instance as the Farnese Hercules, the Barberini Faun, or even the Belvedere Apollo, if presented to public exhibition in flesh tints, with the hair painted, and the eyes coloured, however delicately and carefully this might be done, would not for a moment be tolerated. Would any father of a family willingly take his wife and daughters into a gallery so peopled ? The feeling of prejudice which some persons entertain with respect to all exhibitions of classical sculpture, and which it is impossible to blame where nude displays are made apparently only for the sake of exhibiting the naked human figure, would have ten-fold force under such circumstances. This really comprehends the whole question, and it is difficult to conceive how the modern Polychromist can escape from the dilemma.

Far be it from me to suppose for a moment that artists of merit and acknowledged reputation have had the most remote idea of exercising their art to an immoral purpose, or of exciting an interest in sculpture, by merely appealing to the lower senses. But though such a notion may never have crossed their own minds while engaged in the fascinating production of beautiful works, it may be permitted to point out how others, not so circumstanced, may possibly be affected ; especially too, when, obviously, the subjects are not chosen for any instructive purpose or elevating object. It may be true that while fancy-sculpture—in distinction to portrait-sculpture—is so often exercised with no higher aim and purpose than to please the eye, or obtain patronage, the study and exposition of the merely beautiful in form, may possibly appear an all-sufficient aim and object to the artist ; and then, of course, it would matter very little to him where he sought for his subjects, and what names he gave his statues. I cannot but think that art has a higher mission than this—merely multiplying forms of beauty—and even admitting, in sculpture especially, that beautiful form should be its exponent or language, and, as we must do, that we can nowhere find more admirable examples of the true principles of art, or of models of form, than are left us in the works of the Greeks, still, the illustration over and over again of obsolete fables and their actors, however well done, however successfully imitated from the antique, is calculated rather to retard the useful progress of the art, than to lead to the true development of sculpture in its highest and most worthy purpose ; such a purpose, in fact, as we know it was the intention of the great sculptors of antiquity to attain, by the application of their art to the noblest subjects of their religion and their heroic national history.

P.S.—I regret extremely that I am unable to append to this paper the remarks it gave rise to on various kindred points of art, from some of the eminent persons who were present at the reading. But my acknowledgments are especially due to the Dean of St. Paul's (Dr. Milman), to Mr. Hawkins of the British Museum, to Mr. O. Morgan, M.P., and to Mr. G. Scharf, for their highly interesting observations on ancient sculpture, and for the additional light they threw on the particular subject discussed in the paper ; and I take this opportunity to beg these gentlemen to accept my sincere and grateful thanks for their valuable assistance.

R. W., Jr.

ON THE LIFE AND DEATH OF EARL GODWINE.*

§ 5. BANISHMENT AND RETURN OF GODWINE.

WE have now arrived at the turning-point in the history of Godwine and his family, to the event which for a moment displaced them from their power, only to return to a more sure possession of it. We all know how Eadward, the son of a Norman mother, and brought up at the Norman court, had well-nigh eschewed the feelings of an Englishman, how his court was filled with hungry foreigners, whom he quartered in the highest dignities of church and state. Against this state of things, Godwine and his sons stand forth as the representatives of the national feeling, and hence, as Malmesbury tells us, the difference of statement in the Chronicles, according as their authors were of Norman or of English descent. The one party of course represent the Normans as intruders, stirring up faction in the realm and usurping dignities to the exclusion of the natives ; while the great Earl of the West-Saxons appears as the champion of justice and liberty against the encroachments of the foreigner. The Normans of course, as we have seen, recognise in him and his sons nothing but abusers of the King's simplicity to promote their own aggrandisement. That Godwine was the real champion of English liberty and nationality is clear from every statement : that he and his sons had no objection to combine their own advancement with the good of their country, is only saying that they were but men.

There are several various statements as to the details of the event which first brought the Earl and the feeble King into collision ; but there is no doubt as to its being entirely owing to the insolence and violence of the foreigners. Eadward's sister, Goda, had been given in succession to two French husbands, Drogo,

Origin of the quarrel. Two versions in the Chronicle.

* Continued from vol. xi. p. 330.

Count of Mantes, and Eustace, Count of Boulogne ; the son of the former had been provided by his uncle with a comfortable Earldom in England ; and now Count Eustace, shortly after his marriage with the widowed princess, comes over also ; Malmesbury says he does not know for what cause, but that whatever it was he wanted, he gained it of the King. That one of his party attempted to obtain lodgings in a house at Dover against the will of the owner ; that the householder, resisting his entrance, was either wounded¹ or killed by the Frenchman ; that the foreigner was killed in self-defence by the English ; that Eustace and his party then attacked the English indiscriminately, and after murdering men, women, and children, were driven out of the town,—thus much is admitted on all hands. But the two versions of the Chronicle differ in an important respect ; one represents this ebullition of French insolence as having taken place immediately on the landing of Eustace, the other on his return from the court of Eadward. The conduct of Eustace and his party was in itself equally bad in either case ; but it may be observed that, if it happened immediately on their landing, it might have appeared as something more than a violation of the King's peace ; it might have presented the appearance of an actual hostile invasion, no less than the proceedings at Pevensey and Senlac fifteen years later. The two versions also differ as to what immediately followed. It must be remembered that Dover was a town within Godwine's own Earldom, and that it was consequently his business to protect the innocent parties and to punish the aggressors. According to one version, Eadward, listening to Eustace's statement of the matter, without hearing the other side, commands Godwine to proceed at once to Dover, and inflict a military chastisement on the town which had so grievously failed in respect to the King's brother-in-law. Godwine refuses to perform any such office ; the men of Dover are under his government, and none of his people shall, with his consent, suffer execution untried : let the magistrates of the place be summoned before the Witan,² and

¹ *Wounded*, according to one version of the Chronicle, followed by Malmesbury, *killed*, according to the other version, followed by Florence and most of the others.

² This speech is from Malmesbury,

whose "*Curia Regis*" I suppose does mean the Witan. The Chronicle merely says that the Earl would not consent to the inroad, because he was loth to injure his own people.

abide by their judgment. The Witan are summoned to meet at Gloucester; Godwine, Swegen, and Harold, with their followers, assemble at Beverstone in that county, ready to go to the assembly, "to have the counsel of the King, and his aid, and of all these Witan, how they might avenge the King's disgrace, and the whole nation's." In the meanwhile certain foreigners possess the King's ear, and prejudice him still more against Godwine and his party: the northern Earls, Leofric and Siward, join in the cabal. Godwine's party, "on the other hand, arrayed themselves resolutely, though it were loathful to them that they should turn against their royal lord." No hostilities take place, it being agreed that the matter should be judged in another Gemot to be holden in London. This is the first version in the Chronicle, followed in its most important particulars by Malmesbury. The other story says nothing about Eadward's commands to Godwine, but states that immediately on hearing what had been done in a town within his jurisdiction, he and his sons gathered together an army, threatening to make war on the King, unless Eustace and certain other Frenchmen were given up to them. Eadward, who was at Gloucester, does not seem to summon a Witenagemot, but sends for Siward, Leofric, and Radulf, with their military forces. No battle however ensues, but hostages are mutually given, and the matter referred to a Gemot at Southwark. This was owing to the moderate counsel of Earl Leofric, who objected to fight with his countrymen, though the army was ready to do so. This account is followed by Florence.

It is not easy to reconcile these two narratives; it is not easy to account for their differences. It is plain that the first is the one most favourable to Godwine, and that a sort of apologetic tone in his behalf runs through this whole version of the Chronicle. Yet this is the version followed by Malmesbury, whose prejudices are certainly on the Norman side, while our English Florence adheres to the latter. Of modern historians, Dr. Lappenberg chiefly follows Malmesbury, Mr. Turner adheres to Florence. Thierry and Dr. Lingard draw particulars from both. Before we consider how far this may be safely done, it will be as well to examine a difficult passage which occurs in each, and which I purposely passed over in a summary way in abridging the two narratives.

In the first story I said that while Godwine was at Beverstone, "certain foreigners possessed the King's ear." The Chronicle says—"Then had the ^{Who were the 'Wæliscu menn?'} 'Wæliscu menn' wrought a castle in Herefordshire among Earl Swegen's following, and wrought all the harm and besmear (disgrace) to the King's men thereabout that they might." Then, while Godwine is at Beverstone, "the Wæliscu menn were beforehand with the King, and accused the Earls, that they might not come in his eyesight, for they said that they would come for the King's deceit." Now who are these "Wæliscu menn?" The translation of the Chronicle has "Welshmen;" Malmesbury calls them "Walenses," but tells the story rather differently, saying that Godwine came to Beverstone with an army, and gave out as the reason for his assembling it, "ut Walenses compescerent, qui, tyrannidem in Regem meditantes, oppidum in pago Herefordensi obfirmaverant, ubi tunc Swanus, unus ex filiis Godwini, militiæ prætendebat exubias." This last clause is not easy to understand, and sounds like a misinterpretation of the words of the Chronicle, which I take to mean simply that the castle was built within the limits of Swegen's Earldom. I suspect also that the worthy monk of Malmesbury wandered slightly in his ethnology, and mistook for Welshmen people who were nearer akin to his own French friends. Certainly the proceedings attributed to these "Wæliscu menn," their castle-building and their familiarity with King Eadward, are something not a little extraordinary on the part of genuine Cymry, subjects of either Gruffydd. Dr. Lingard interprets "Wæliscu" here to mean simply in its original sense, "foreigners,"³ *i.e.*, in this case, Frenchmen, and Dr. Lappenberg silently takes the same view. I do not however understand the former writer, when he says that "three armies from the three Earldoms of Godwin, Sweyn, and Harold, directed their march towards Langtree in Gloucestershire, to punish, as was pretended, the depredations committed on the lands of Harold by the French garrison of a castle in Herefordshire." Now the version which mentions the castle in Hereford, says nothing about armies at Langtree, but of a gathering

³ The word occurs in this primitive sense as late as Sir Thomas Smith. "To defend themselves yet from them which

were Walsh and strangers." *Commonwealth of England*, cap. 12.

originally designed to be peaceful, at Beverstone; the pretext of punishment is from Malmesbury, while I do not know the authority for saying the incursions were made on the lands of Harold, whose Earldom was on the other side of England.

The other difficulty is in the other account: Godwine's demand in the Chronicle is for the surrender of Eustace and his men, "and the Frenchmen who were in the castle." This, in Florence and French in Dover Castle. Hoveden, appears as "*insuper et Normannos et Bononienses, qui castellum in Doroverniæ clivo tenuerunt.*" But Dr. Lappenberg interprets it to mean "all the Frenchmen who were in the castle in Herefordshire;" adding, "either Florence must have had before him a defective and unintelligible MS., or Eadward must already have entrusted the Castle of Dover to the French; a supposition which would account for the insolence of Eustace, but which is highly improbable." How "the castle" can mean "the castle in Herefordshire," I am wholly at a loss to understand, as in the version of the Chronicle which contains this passage, there is nothing at all about the Herefordshire castle. There is indeed no castle mentioned at all, and the allusion is far from clear, but I think that the authority of Florence is quite sufficient to make us interpret the "castle" of Dover Castle. Dr. Lingard infers from the passage, that while Eustace hastened to the King to complain of the insult, many of his followers obtained possession of, or admission into, the "Castle on the Cliff." This seems a very probable explanation.

Now which version are we to believe? It is of course our business to reconcile both as far as possible, but if this attempt fails, I think our credence is most due to the second version of the Chronicle, that Harmony of the versions. followed by Florence. The other is evidently the work of a partisan of Godwine's, striving to put his conduct in the most favourable light, while this one, though not manifesting any animus against him, makes no such studious apologies. From one expression, "the people were ordered out over all this north-end and Siward's Earldom and Leofric's and elsewhere," it is clear that the account was composed out of Godwine's jurisdiction. I accept, however, the statement of the former, that the fray took place on

Eustace's return, because that narrative enters into some small details of his journey, which there could be no motive for inventing. I also accept its statement that chastisement was ordered by the King, and that Godwine refused to obey. But I must confess that I doubt whether Godwine went into Gloucestershire with quite such peaceable intentions as the first version represents him. He would probably go prepared for either result, with a body of followers sufficient to overawe the King and his foreign favourites, and ready to appeal to arms if necessary. This first version represents them as going peaceably to a Witenagemot, and implies that resistance only came into their heads as an afterthought.⁴ I think no formal Gemot was summoned at Gloucester, for if so, why could not the matter have been judged then and there, instead of being adjourned to another assembly at Southwark? Dr. Lingard seems also to reject this first Witenagemot at Gloucester. I therefore adopt the second version, only correcting it from the first by the statement that it was on Eustace's return that the affray happened; and taking in the fact that Godwine refused obedience to Eadward's commands to chastise the people of Dover. His appeal for a juster treatment of his people having been once rejected, it would be repeated at the head of the choicest men of the three Earldoms, coupled with threats of an appeal to force if justice were any longer denied. Any wrongs committed by foreigners in Herefordshire, or elsewhere, would of course excite Godwine and his party still more. Radulf and his Frenchmen would be naturally anxious for battle; Siward and his Danes might likely enough have some grudge against Godwine and his West Saxons; Leofric of Mercia naturally steps in as mediator between the extreme parties, and counsels a peaceable settlement in the Witenagemot. This seems far more probable than the adjournment from one Gemot at Gloucester to another at Southwark, while the gathering together of so many great earls and thanes would almost present the appearance of a formal assembly of the Witan, so that it might be loosely spoken of as if it had really been one.

To the Gemot at Southwark all England seems to have

⁴ Mr. Kemble in incidentally telling the story (*Saxons in England*, ii. 230) seems to take this view, though he does

not enter at large into the question. But in his list of Gemots (ii. 260) he counts the Gloucester one.

come, ready for discussion either with words or with blows as occasion might serve. The conclusion every one knows, namely, the banishment of Godwine and his sons ; Swegen was first outlawed, doubtless, professedly at least, for his old offence ; Godwine, Harold, and the rest,⁵ refusing to appear unless hostages were given for their safety, were banished, being allowed five days to take them out of the realm. Godwine, with Gytha, Swegen, Tostig and Judith, and Gyrth, went to Flanders—"Baldwines land," as the chroniclers call it—to the court of Tostig's father-in-law ; Harold and Leofwine, for some unexplained cause, chose Ireland⁶ for their refuge. No mention is made of the younger children ; possibly they were not born. An act of treachery on the part of Eadward, or those who acted in his name, may be accepted without hesitation, as recorded by the chronicler less favourable to Godwine. Harold and Leofwine went to Bristol to take ship ; Bishop Ealdred was sent with a force to overtake them, "but they could not, or they would not." The foreigners now have it all their own way ; even Queen Eadgyth is banished to a monastery, divers bishoprics and dignities are conferred on Frenchmen ; Harold's earldom, however, falls to the lot of Ælfgar, the son of Leofric.

In the various narratives of Godwine's return, there is no important difference. But we cannot help observing the wide difference of feeling displayed by the people in different parts of the kingdom. Harold lands at Porlock as an enemy ; all Somerset and Devon meet to oppose him in arms, and several men of rank are killed in open combat ; whereas, as Godwine and his other sons sail along the coasts of Wight, of Sussex, and of Kent, the inhabitants everywhere flock to their standard, vowing to live and die with them. It is a glorious tale to read how England stood ready to receive her champions ; how no influence could induce a single man to lift a weapon against the national chiefs ; how the foreign intruders, counts, bishops, and all, fled wildly to escape in any quarter from the vengeance of the nation which they had insulted. The Somersetshire story is the only dark

Return of
Godwine.

⁵ "They very properly declined under such circumstances to appear." (Kemble, Saxons in England, ii, 231.)

⁶ It should be noticed that after the

Conquest, Harold's sons take refuge in Ireland, and thence return to Somersetshire, just as their father did.

shade on the picture. My own notion is, as I have before hinted, that the government of Swegen, as might be expected from his character, had been less popular than that of Godwine and Harold, and that some old grudge may probably have led to the collision. But in any case the difference of feeling in the two districts needs explanation, and it may possibly be a stain upon Harold's character, if he, for once in his life, resorted to unnecessary violence. In either view, it is not fair in Thierry to omit all mention of Harold's Somersetshire affray ; while, on the other hand, it is equally unfair in M. de Bonnechose to represent Godwine and Harold as plundering in Sussex and Kent, on the mere testimony of such a writer as Wendover, in opposition to the earlier authorities. That there was some standing feud between the men of Somerset and the house of Godwine we may infer from the fact that, when Harold's sons, after the Conquest, landed in that county, they were resisted, just as their father had been, by the people of the district headed by an English commander.

Thus was achieved the great triumph of the national party. In the words of the Chronicle, "they outlawed all the Frenchmen, who before had upreared unjust law, and judged unjust judgments, and counselled ill counsel in this land, except so many as they agreed upon, whom the King liked to have with him, who were true to him and to all his people." This was a great error, which Godwine, in some accounts, is stated to have opposed in vain ; when the hour of trial came, when Godwine and Harold and Stigand were no longer at hand to maintain the cause of England, these foreign priests and knights became chief agents in carrying out her subjugation. For the present, England was England once again ; Godwine the Earl, and Stigand the Archbishop, stood forth as the chiefs of the national State and the national Church ; Harold returned to his old Earldom ; Eadgyth to her strange and melancholy royalty ; one alone of that great house appeared not to share the general joy. Swegen, touched with penitence for his crimes, had gone barefooted to Jerusalem, and died shortly after on his return, either in Lycia or at Constantinople. The latter is the statement of the Chronicle, the former of Florence and others ; Malmesbury alone represents him as being slain by the Saracens, the others as

dying of a disorder occasioned by the extreme cold. But all seem to agree in representing this pilgrimage as an expiation voluntarily undertaken at the bidding of his own conscience. Dr. Lingard, oppressed by the seeming necessity of making something out in behalf of *Saint Eadward*, tells us, "but to Sweyn Edward was inexorable. He had been guilty of a most inhuman and perfidious murder, and seeing himself abandoned by his family, he submitted to the discipline of the ecclesiastical canons." Now, I really am quite unable to find, at any rate in the writers nearest to the time, anything at all about Eadward's inexorable justice, about Swegen's abandonment by his family, or about the discipline of the ecclesiastical canons. From the Chronicle onwards they represent Swegen as having already gone to Jerusalem, starting direct from Bruges, and as having no share in the return of his father and brothers. They say that Eadward restored their honours to Godwine and his sons, except Swegen, "who had already gone"—*jam abierat*. Florence, and those who copy from him, add "*ductus pœnitentiâ*," or, as Malmesbury phrases it, "*pro conscientîâ Brunonis cognati interempti*." This latter writer does not indeed directly state that Swegen was already gone, but this is because he does not follow chronological order, but gives us little separate biographies of Swegen and Tostig. The only narrative I can find at all like that of Dr. Lingard is contained in the veracious chronicle of Wendover, among all the Norman scandals against the family, which Dr. Lingard, whenever he allows himself the free use of his own clear judgment, is the first to reject. Wendover does not use the pluperfect tense, and for "*pœnitentiâ ductus*," says, "*pœnitentiam agens*." Now, while the former phrase must strictly imply "led by repentance," *i. e.* in his own mind, the latter may fairly mean "submitting to the discipline of the ecclesiastical canons." But according to the more trustworthy statements, if Swegen was indeed a great criminal, he was also, according to the ideas of those times, a great penitent, and it is rather hard to deprive him of that character, merely to exalt St. Eadward and the ecclesiastical canons. But even Wendover says nothing about the inexorableness of the King and the abandonment of Swegen by his family. Eadward had no opportunity to be inexorable, nor Godwine to abandon a son who was somewhere between Bruges and

Jerusalem. What *might* have happened, whether Swegen had abandoned the world for ever, or only for a season ; whether, if he had lived to return, he would have applied for the restitution of his Earldom, or whether if he had, Eadward would have been inexorable or Swegen been abandoned by his family, are points which I cannot profess to determine ; they do not belong to history, but to that philosophy of romance⁷ which Dr. Lingard is generally the first to despise.

According to some Norman writers, Godwine delivered to the King, as hostages for his good behaviour, his son Wulfnoth, and his grandson Hakon,⁸ the son of Swegen, and Edward committed them to the safe keeping of his cousin, the Duke of the Normans.

According to one account, it was to reclaim these hostages that Harold afterwards went on his unfortunate journey into Normandy. But I must confess that I see very little reason to believe that such hostages were given at all. The story rests on the authority of Eadmer, William of Poitou, the Roman de Rou, and the later writers, Bromton and Hemingburgh. Against it is the inherent improbability of the case, the entire silence of the early English authorities, and a statement not easily reconciled with it in at least one Norman writer, Ordericus Vitalis. The Chronicle and Florence most distinctly tell us that Godwine and all his family were restored to entire favour with the King, and to all their possessions and honours, Swegen alone excepted, for the reasons before given. How can this be reconciled with the statement that a son and a grandson of Godwine were at this very moment sent into captivity in a foreign land ? And when Godwine and the national party were in the full swing of triumph, when the name of Norman was almost synonymous with that of outlaw, it does seem wholly incredible that the weak monarch should have been allowed to send two Englishmen of the dominant family as hostages to the very prince whose subjects were being driven out of the kingdom.

⁷ Preface, p. 25. Talking of the "philosophy of romance," I may mention that Sir E. B. Lytton has in this case gained a very impressive scene at the expense of one of his few violations of historical accuracy, by representing Swegen as returning, appearing before the Witan, and then banishing himself. Thierry

relates the story in nearly the same manner.

⁸ Dr. Lappenberg says that Hemingford calls the son of Sweyne, "Otherin." In the Historical Society's edition at least, he figures as "Harcus," as he does in Bromton.

Florence, in recording the death of William in 1087, tells us that, on his deathbed he released from prison, among others, "Wulfnoth, the brother of King Harold, whom he had kept in prison from his boyhood," but that the worse tyrant who succeeded him speedily remanded the unfortunate prince to a dungeon at Winchester. But he does not say that Wulfnoth was a hostage; he might have been imprisoned after William's conquest of England; in which case he must certainly have been the youngest of the brothers. Ordericus, as we have also seen, says nothing of Wulfnoth's being either a hostage or a prisoner, but represents him as living piously, and apparently peaceably, as a monk at Salisbury.⁹ On the whole I incline to believe that this story of the hostages is simply one of the many fictions of the Norman party. The mode in which it probably arose I shall have to discuss when I come to treat of the life of Harold.

The later writers generally afford less entertainment in their narration of these events than might perhaps have been expected; but I cannot resist the temptation of inserting the inimitable, though not over-historical, relation of them to be found in good Bishop Godwin, in the life of Archbishop Robert. "He [Robert] began, therefore, to beat into the King's head (that was a mild and soft-natured gentleman) how hard a hand his mother held upon him when he lived in Normandy: how likely it was that his brother came to his death by the practise of her and Earle Godwyn; and lastly, that she used the company of Alwyn, Bishop of Winchester, somewhat more familiarly than an honest woman needed. The King somewhat too rashly crediting these tales, without any further examination or debating of the matter, seased upon all his mother's goods, and committed her to prison in the Nunry of Warwell; banished Earl Godwyn and his sonnes, and commanded Alwyn, upon pain of death, not to come forth of Winchester." Then follows the story of the ploughshares.

⁹ Dr. Lingard quoting the passage of Ordericus says, "Alfgar, after the conquest, became a monk at Rheims, in Champagne. Wulfnoth, so long the prisoner of William, only obtained his liberty to embrace the same profession at Salisbury." i. 446. But when did Wulfnoth obtain his liberty after

the second capture mentioned by Florence and by Dr. Lingard himself in p. 515? I do not see how the statements of Florence and Ordericus can be reconciled, and I somewhat doubt the existence of this Ælfgar.

§ 6. DEATH AND CHARACTER OF GODWINE.

The great Earl of the West-Saxons did not long enjoy his restored ascendancy. In 1053, the year after his return, he died. The Chronicle informs us only that he was taken ill, while dining with the King at Winchester, "on the second day of Easter," when he fell down suddenly in a fit, was carried out into the King's chamber in the expectation of his recovery, but that he never recovered, and died on the next Thursday.¹ Florence adds, that his sons, Harold, Tostig, and Gyrth, carried him out. On this the Norman fabulists have built up, as might have been expected, a marvellous superstructure. Such a death of their great enemy might by itself have been represented as a manifest judgment on the traitor; but this would hardly have been enough. We are told, therefore, by Ingulf, or pseudo-Ingulf—I will not enter into that question—and by Malmesbury, that as Eadward and Godwine were sitting at table, discoursing about the King's late brother Ælfred, Godwine said that he believed the King still suspected him of having a hand in his death, but that he prayed his next morsel might choke him if he were guilty of any share in it. Of course his next morsel did choke him; he died then and there, and was carried out by Harold. Now it perhaps occurred to the next generation, that, under the circumstances as imagined by them, the deceased Ælfred was a rather extraordinary subject of discourse to arise between Eadward and Godwine. Henry of Huntingdon, gifted, it may be, with less power of invention than some others, makes the conversation take a somewhat different turn, and a hardly more probable one. Godwine, "*gener*"² *suns et proditor*," is reclining by King Eadward at Windsor, when he apparently volunteers the remark, that he has been often falsely accused of plotting against the King, but that he trusts, if there be a true and just God in heaven, he will make the piece of bread choke him if he ever did so plot. The true and just God, we are told, heard the voice

¹ OS þone þunresdag. Quintā post hæc feriā, Flor. Dr. Lappenberg says, "On the fifth day," as if Godwine survived four days. But Florence means the fifth day of the week, the *Thursday*

of the Chronicle. Hoveden copies Florence.

² *Gener* seems, in mediæval Latin, to have acquired the more general sense of *affinis*, like γαμβρός. See Durange in *voc.*

of the traitor, who, as the chronicler charitably adds, "eodem pane strangulatus mortem prægustavit æternam." But this was a very lame story. The conversation about Ælfred was too good to be lost, so some means must be found to account for the introduction of a topic which one would have expected both parties to avoid. Some ingenious person hit upon an ancient legend which Malmesbury had indeed recorded in its proper place, but had not thought of transferring to this. There was an old scandal against Æthelstan, otherwise one of our noblest monarchs, to the effect that he exposed his brother Eadwine at sea, on a false charge of conspiracy, brought by his cup-bearer. Seven years after, the cup-bearer, handing wine to the King, slips with one foot, recovers himself with the other, and adds the facetious remark, "So brother helps brother." But King Æthelstan is thereby reminded how this same man had made him deprive himself of the help of *his* brother, and takes care that, however strong he may be on his feet, he shall presently be shorter by the head, which had no brother to help it. Thus in Æthelred of Rievaulx, in Wendover, in Bromton and Knighton, we read how, as Eadward and Godwine are at table, the cup-bearer slips and recovers himself, how Godwine says, "So brother helps brother," how Eadward answers, "So might my brother Ælfred have helped me, but for the treason of Godwine." Then, of course, Godwine curses himself and dies. One or two little improvements are to be found in different writers. Thus Bromton makes Harold appear as the cup-bearer, and his father's remark is addressed to him. One only wonders that the disputes between Harold and Tostig were not somehow lugged in here also. The same Bromton puts into the royal saint's mouth, on seeing Godwine's fall, the brief and polite remark, "Drag out the dog!" Wendover, who says that Eadward blessed the morsel before Godwine swallowed it, expands this laconic terseness into, "Drag out that dog, and bury him in the highway, for he is unworthy of Christian burial." On this his sons carry out the corpse, and bury it in the Old Minster,³ without the King's knowledge.

³ *I.e.* the Cathedral ("in episcopatu Wintonie," as Malmesbury has it), as opposed to the "new minster" founded

by Ælfred the Great, afterwards called Hyde Abbey.

Character of
Godwine.

Such was, as Dr. Lappenberg truly observes, “the last attempt of the Norman party to avenge themselves upon the lion’s skin of their deadliest enemy.” We have seen how simple and natural the tale is in its first estate, and how it has gradually grown into the full dimensions bestowed upon it by Norman calumny. Each passer-by has deemed it his duty to throw an additional stone upon the corpse of the dead traitor. We, at this distance of time, may be allowed to cast their fables aside, and to draw our information from the more trustworthy records of his own time and nation. The impression conveyed by them is that the great Earl was a man, in his own age, of unrivalled natural ability, and of unrivalled acquired experience, who devoted the whole of his mighty powers to the genuine service of his country, but around whom there hung the dark suspicion⁴ of one foul crime, never indeed proved, but on the other hand never fully disproved. That Godwine was innocent is the conclusion to which the weight of evidence inclines, but that he should have been even suspected tells against his general character. When the Ætheling Eadward at a later period died suddenly at the court of his uncle, and opened the way for the succession of Harold, the advantage to the latter was so palpable that one only wonders that he was never accused of a hand in his death.⁵ Yet I am not aware that even Norman enmity ever ventured upon such a calumny, while English writers have at least suspected Godwine of the murder of Ælfred under far more aggravated circumstances. We may therefore fairly conclude that the charge which would have been at once felt as carrying its own refutation with it in the case of the son, had not the same intrinsic improbability when applied to the father. Godwine was a bold, far-seeing, unscrupulous politician, seeking the good of

⁴ Godwine indeed appears also concerned in two or three other pieces of work repugnant to the feelings of our age. Such are the disinterment of Harold the First, the burning of Worcester, and the spoliation of Queen Emma by her son Eadward. But in none of these is Godwine introduced as the sole or the prime mover; they are all done by the command of the king for the time being, and Godwine always appears in company with some of the other great men of the realm; in the two former cases with Archbishop Ælfrie,

in the two latter with his great rivals Sward and Leofric. Bromton indeed insinuates that Emma was spoiled “*Godwini consiliis*,” but it is clear that it was done by Eadward’s mere motion, and Dr. Lappenberg has made out a tolerably plausible case in the King’s justification.

⁵ Palgrave and one or two other modern writers hint at it, but I remember nothing of the sort in the old authors, though Saxo does make Harold murder an Eadward, even the holy king himself.

his country, but not neglecting his own or that of his family. Like nearly every other exalted person of his time, he did not scruple to enrich himself at the expense of the monastic orders,⁶ and he showed more regard to political than to ecclesiastical propriety in the promotion of Stigand to the highest place in the English Church. His own family he loaded with the honours of the state; in promoting such a son as Harold, he consulted the good of his country as much as his own paternal feelings; but it was an unworthy nepotism which led to the restitution of the murderer Sweegen. The distinguishing point in Godwine's character among the Danes and English who surround him, is his being so eminently and strictly a politician. He stands out as something quite unlike the fierce, violent, generous, openhearted, bloody-handed chief of vikings or bandits which one regards as the type of the half-civilised leader of his day. He was indeed a brave warrior, and owed his first promotion in a great measure to his military capacity; but the character of the warrior is with him something altogether secondary. His special home is not the battle-field, but the Witenagemot: friends and enemies alike extol his eloquence, his power of persuasion, which could sway his auditors in what direction he pleased. His foes insinuate that while thus gifted with the nobler, he did not altogether eschew the baser arts which have been familiar to the politicians of all ages. Bribes and promises, favour and disfavour discreetly apportioned, are mentioned among the engines of his policy. He is the minister, the parliamentary leader; Eorl and Ceorl, Dane and Saxon, alike submit to his influence, but it is always influence, never violence; he is often accused of fraud, never of force;⁷ with any man of Teutonic speech his controversy is always one of words and policy; it is against the Norman alone that he resorts to the spear and the battle-axe. A true politician, he knew how to bide his time and adapt himself to circumstances; an Englishman,

⁶ This accusation, as regards Godwine, rests on the very unsuspicious testimony of the Chronicle; as regards Harold, on the very suspicious one of Domesday. (See Ellis's Introduction, i. 313. ii. 142.)

⁷ Archdeacon Mapes, more familiarly known by his Christian name, has transmitted a strange story of the nefarious trick by which Godwine is said to have

got possession of the nunnery of Berkeley. (See Fosbroke's History of Berkeley, p. 7.) No one can doubt that the story is the merest fable, but it marks the estimate of the man. Godwine is represented as gaining his point by art, Leofric or Siward would probably have been introduced expelling the inmates *vi et armis*.

the future chief of the English party, he knew how to submit to the Danish rule, and how to rise to greatness under it; he knew also how long that rule was to be borne, and when it was to be broken off. When first standing forth as the champion of the sons of Emma, he yielded, because he saw resistance was vain, to the succession of the first Harold. When the male line of the great Cnut was extinct, he saw that the moment was come to raise up again the throne of Cerdic and Ælfred, and for England to have once more a King of her own blood. The pretensions of Svend and of Magnus he entirely casts aside; perhaps, as Thierry imagines, he might have secured his own election when Eadward was unwilling to accept the proffered crown; but his ambition was of a cautious and practical kind; he knew that to rule in the name of a weak sovereign was a less invidious position than himself to wear a disputed diadem. According to a refined political creed of which his times had no notion, he may have earned the names of rebel and traitor by an armed opposition to his sovereign, by returning like a conqueror from the banishment to which King and Witan had sentenced him. Godwine's guilt or innocence in the matter simply turns upon the old question of non-resistance to authority in any case. This I will not enter upon here. But undoubtedly many Englishmen reverence the names of Hampden and Sidney; all, I believe, unite in homage to those of Langton and Fitzwalter, and to the Great Charter which they wrung by open rebellion from the despot of their times. When Godwine appealed to arms against foreign domination, he at least did no more than they. An atrocious deed of blood is perpetrated by the King's foreign favourites within Godwine's own earldom; in any case the King protects the guilty, most probably he requires Godwine himself to punish the innocent. If a subject may in any case draw his sword against his sovereign, surely he may in such a case as this. Unquestionably most men of the eleventh century allowed themselves that liberty on far slighter provocations. He is banished, the guilty remain unpunished, the foreign influence is predominant. He returns, prepared for battle indeed, but no battle is needed; everywhere he comes with a friendly greeting, everywhere he is received as a friend. The voice of an injured people demand his restoration; placed again in his old honours, there is not the slightest sign of any

deviation from his old politic moderation ; not an Englishman is harmed in life, limb, or estate ; of the foreigners themselves not a man is personally injured, even banishment is confined to those who had wrought injustice in the realm. Whatever his birth and parentage, whether the son of the South-Saxon captain or of the western peasant, he had won his greatness for himself ; he died the virtual sovereign of England, and transmitted his power to a nobler, hardly a greater, successor. Between him and his son there is the same sort of difference as between the great father and son of Macedonian history ; Godwine is the Philip, Harold the Alexander, of his house. Harold appears as a hero, with all the virtues and the faults of the heroic character ; Godwine is as far from a hero as any man on record ; a cool, crafty, deliberate politician ; moderate, conciliatory, persuasive, not clear perhaps from fraud and corruption, but never tempted into violence or insolence. Traitor or no traitor, he was at least England's chosen leader ; he ruled her well, and she mourned his loss. We have seen his character as drawn by his enemies, let us conclude with the picture as transmitted by admiring and lamenting friends. The old biographer of Eadward, quoted by Stow,⁸ knows not, or regards not, the accusations of perfidy against the father, of violence against the son. In his eyes Godwine and Harold stand forth as the pattern of every princely virtue.

“ Duke Godwine (saith he) and his sonnes being reconciled to the King, and the country being quiet, in the second yeere after died the said duke of happie memorie, whose death was the sorrow of the people ; him their father, him the nourisher of them and the kingdome with continuall weeping they bewailed ; he was buried with worthie honor in the old Monasterie of Winchester, giving to the same church gifts, ornaments, and rentes of lands. Harold succeeded in his

⁸ Stow quotes from what he calls “ Vita Edwardi ;” now the only “ Vita Edwardi ” I know is that of Æthelred of Rieux, who certainly speaks in a widely different strain. I perceive that Dr. Lingard (i. 344) quotes second-hand from Stow, and Mr. Thorpe (Lappenberg, ii. 250) and M. de Bonnechose (ii. 92) third-hand from Dr. Lingard. But Stow cannot have invented the biography, and I trust that some one versed in MSS. and early printed books may discover the

original which he employed. If anyone should object, with M. de Bonnechose (ii. 100), to its authority, that an author who dedicates his work to Queen Eadgyth is not altogether an unprejudiced witness as to the character of her father and brother, it is easy to place him in a dilemma ; as these who give the worst character of Godwine and Harold add that Eadgyth did not at all resemble them, and even took the Norman side against the latter.

Dukedome, which was a great comfort to the whole English nation, for in vertue both of bodie and minde he excelled all people as another Judas Macchabeus. and was a friende to his countrie, diligently supplying his father's place, and walking in his steppes, that is to say, in patience, mercie, and affabilitie to well willers, but to disquiet persons, theeves, and robbers, with a lyon's countenance he threatened his just severitie."

EDWARD A. FREEMAN.

When originally writing the present essay, I was not aware that the Chronicle of Radulphus Niger, referred to by Sharon Turner in support of Godwine's peasant origin, existed in print. I have since found that it was published in 1851 by the Caxton Society, and I have accordingly referred to the passage. He gives us the following account of Godwine :—

"Anno ab incarnatione Domini MLXII Edwardus filius Ethelredi, frater Edmundi Irenside ex patre, frater et Hardecnuti ex Emmâ matre, suscepit regnum Anglorum, auxilio Godwini comitis cujus filiam duxit, sed eam minimè cognovit, unde ambo in cœlibatu permanserunt. Hic rex Westmonasterium fecit et ditavit, multaque miracula egit. *Godwinus comes filius bubulei fuit*; in mensâ regis Edwardi offâ suffocatus est, et ab Haraldo filio sub mensâ extractus. Hic Godwinus a rege Cnutone nutritus, processu temporis in Daciam cum breve regius transmissus, callidè duxit sororem Cnutonis." P. 160.

The last paragraph I have already referred to. In an earlier portion, under the reign of Harthacnut, he gives his version of the death of Ælfred, which is somewhat strange :—

"Edwardum fratrem suum a Normannis revocans, secum pacificè aliquamdiu habuit. Nam alter frater, Aluredus scilicet, ad stipitem ligatus a Godwino in Hely peremptus est, ter decimatis commilitonibus apud Guldredune, post mortem Haroldi, antequam regnaret Hardecnutus consilio Stigandi archiepiscopi." P. 157.

The testimony of this Chronicle, though somewhat late, is not without its value. It clearly points to an independent English tradition as to Godwine's peasant origin, as it is impossible to suppose that Radulphus Niger borrowed his information from the Knytlinga Saga.

ON THE BOOK OF DEVOTIONS,

DEPOSITED BY CARDINAL HOWARD IN THE LIBRARY OF THE DOMINICAN CONVENT AT
BORNHEIM IN 1659.

BY THE REV. JOSEPH HUNTER, F.S.A.

I AM permitted by Lady Stourton to whom it now belongs, to lay before the Institute a manuscript which will, I doubt not, be found, both on account of its beauty as a work of art, and of some circumstances of historical interest with which it is surrounded, to be eminently deserving their attention.

It is a book of Catholic devotions, one of the class called Missals in ordinary parlance; but like many other manuscripts usually so denominated, not a Missal in any proper sense of the word, but one of the class more properly called *Horæ*, being a miscellany of prayers, collects, psalms, antiphons and pious ejaculations, adapted to the private use of a person of a devotional turn of mind; and we may add, for some person living in the world and not wholly given up to the religious life. It is adorned with various miniatures, representing, for the most part, early saints in the Christian Calendar with principal events in their lives, or peculiar events in the history of the Saviour. The text which follows the drawings, has usually reference, more or less direct, to the person or events which are there represented.

In form it is five inches by three and three quarters, and two inches in thickness. It is of the finest vellum, and is bound in crimson velvet, with silver corners slightly enchased. The number of leaves is 284, and there are 34 large miniatures. The clasps have been removed. Something appears to be wanting which preceded the shield of the arms of Hastings and the calendar at the beginning; and a very accurate observer who prepared an analysis of its contents, Mr. C. Weld, has remarked a slight dislocation or perhaps the loss of a leaf near the middle of the volume.

Besides the miniatures, there are ornamental borders to

every page, consisting of flowers, animals, and arabesques, well selected, varied, and drawn, while the larger works are remarkable for the taste with which they are designed, and the delicacy with which they are executed. Attention may be called to the architecture and back-grounds of many of them, to the observance of the rules of perspective, to the air which is given to the figures, and to the expression in the countenances. Altogether, there are few works existing of this class in England which in these respects can pretend to more than a comparison with this manuscript, and scarcely any that surpass it in beauty.

It is a work of French or Flemish art ; and the costume guides us with tolerable certainty, to the latter half of the fifteenth century, 1470 to 1480, as the period of the execution. Concurring to the same conclusion, is the language of a note in the English tongue near the beginning—"The sume of these Indulgences been xxvi. thousand yeres and xxxvi. daies| This writen in the chapel of Jherusalem, and this is registred in Rome." This will at least prove that it cannot have been written much later than the date which is here assigned to it.

The introduction of these few words of English while all the rest is in Latin, seems to show that it was prepared originally for the use of some person of the English nation. But this admits of still stronger proof from the selection which is made of the names of saints whose days are here particularly indicated in the calendar. There is an evident leaning to the introduction of the English saints. Thus we have St. Chad, St. Cuthbert, St. Richard, Elphege, Dunstan, Aldhelm, Swithen, Wollran, St. Alban, and some others ; persons whom an Englishman may be supposed to wish to have placed in his private calendar, but not claiming particular interest with a person of any other nation.

Assuming then, that we have sufficient reason to believe that it was a work of foreign art, French or Flemish, executed by a person eminent in this branch of art, about A.D. 1475, and prepared for the use of an Englishman, it may be added, that so costly a work would hardly have been prepared but at the expense of some person of wealth and consideration ; and the next question is, are there any means of determining for whom the book was originally prepared.

It must be acknowledged, that here we have no external

evidence whatever : but the book seems itself to carry with it an indication which can scarcely mislead, of the person for whom it was executed, and to whom it originally belonged.

On the first leaf we have an heraldic drawing of singular beauty, and, doubtless, by the same hand that prepared the miniatures in the volume. It presents the arms of Hastings, the black maunch, surrounded by the Garter. Now this must have been the insignia of some member of the family of Hastings who had been admitted into the Order. Of these there was only one who lived within the period to which the book can possibly be assigned, namely, William, Lord Hastings, who was made a Knight of the Garter in 1461, and who was put to death by the Protector, Richard, Duke of Gloucester, in 1483. Two Hastings', in later generations of the family, viz. : Francis, Earl of Huntingdon, elected into the Order in 1549, and Sir Edward Hastings, Lord Hastings of Loughborough, in 1555, lived too late to be the owner of the shield here so beautifully delineated.

We seem, therefore, driven to the conclusion that the book was originally prepared for William, Lord Hastings, the Lord Chamberlain in the reign of King Edward IV. The religious character of Lord Hastings is manifested in the ecclesiastical foundations made by him, and his care in providing for the solemnities of his funeral and obits ; while his long residence at Calais affords a presumption that he may have been brought into connection with some eminent French or Flemish artist, by whom the work was executed.

It did not, however, remain in the family of Hastings ; and when we next get any authentic information respecting it, we find it in possession of the family of the Earl of Arundel, first, the Fitz-Alans (so called) or Arundels, and next the Howards, who enjoyed that eminent dignity by descent from the Arundels. It will be more convenient, and the facts will be presented in a more intelligible manner, if we trace the history of the book for the last two centuries backwards, beginning with the present possessor.

It was acquired by Lady Stourton, in 1835, by purchase from the English Dominicans in their convent at Hinckley, in Leicestershire. This Society was settled originally at Bornheim, near Antwerp ; they fled to England in 1794, when the French overran the Low Countries. They first found a

settlement at Carshalton, in Surrey, from whence, in 1810, they removed to Hineckley.¹

This convent was founded in the year 1658, by the Baron de Bornheim, according to Mr. Petre, but Philip Howard, a Dominican, (the third son of Henry Frederick, Earl of Arundel) who was afterwards made a Cardinal, had so much concern in the foundation, that he has usually been considered as the founder. He was, at least, the first Prior.

Among the gifts which he bestowed on the convent was this precious volume. This had been the uniform tradition of the House, and it is put beyond doubt, by a memorandum in the book itself, in the hand-writing, as I am informed, of Father Vincent Torry, who was for a long time the Vicar-General of the Dominican Order in England, and a contemporary of Cardinal Howard. It is in these terms : "Conventus Anglo-Bornhemiensis, dono-datus ab Em^{mo} Dño Cardinali de Norfolcia fundatore ejusdem Conventus, 1659.—V. T."

It is thus traced, on what we may deem sufficient evidence, to the possession of a member of the house of Arundel in the middle of the seventeenth century.

In a hand-writing of about a century earlier, we find another piece of evidence to the connection of it at that time with an earlier member of the same illustrious house, but one who lived before the dignity had descended upon the Howards. This was Henry Arundel (or Fitz-Alan), Lord Maltravers, then the son and heir-apparent of William, Earl of Arundel, and himself afterwards Earl of Arundel, the last of the earls of the ancient male line of that house. Maltravers, it need hardly be observed, was an old barony, merged into the Earldom of Arundel, and was generally adopted for the designation of the eldest sons of the Earls during their father's life. This Henry, Lord Maltravers, was born about the first year of the reign of King Henry VIII., 1509, and succeeded his father in 1543. He held various offices of trust, and was indeed one of the most conspicuous noblemen of the time. He died in 1579. The book contains a couplet written by him on a blank leaf.

A brief genealogical statement will show the descent from

¹ "Notices of the English Colleges and Convents established on the Continent." By the Hon. Edward Petre, 4to, 1819, p. 41.

him of Cardinal Howard, and the probability that a book once his might fall into the Cardinal's hands.

Lord Maltravers and Earl of Arundel, had one son, Henry, called Lord Maltravers, who died without issue in 1556, at the age of nineteen, and two daughters; Jane, Lady Lumley, from whom there are no descendants, and Mary, who married Thomas Howard, the fourth Duke of Norfolk of the Howards. This lady died on August 25, 1557, at Arundel Place, in the parish of St. Clement Danes, and there her only child was born on the 28th of the preceding month of July, a son named Philip. This Philip became Earl of Arundel in right of his maternal descent, the superior title of Duke of Norfolk having been lost by his father's attainder. Philip was the father of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, who is honoured in his line for the patronage which he extended to the arts, and for his great services to his country in having enriched it with so many choice remains of antiquity. He was the father of Henry Frederick, Earl of Arundel, the father of Cardinal Howard: so that the Cardinal was the fifth in descent from Henry, Lord Maltravers, who has inscribed this couplet on a blank page of the book:—

When you yor prayers doe rehers
Remembre Henry Mawtrevers.

These few words, however, open two questions, both requiring to be answered if we propose to give a trustworthy account of the descent of this book from persons who lived in the reign of King Henry VIII.: First, to whom did Lord Maltravers address this couplet? and secondly, how it happened that when the book was in other hands than his, it should still remain in the possession of the Arundel family?

Both these questions may, I think, receive a satisfactory solution.

And now it is necessary to advert to a circumstance to which, hitherto, no allusion has been made, that there are bound up with the beautiful book we have been treating of, ten leaves, forming another book, similar in form to the one before described, but of far inferior execution; and similar in subject also, being the "Office of the Holy Trinity." This portion of the volume contains its own story; there being

written in it in the hand of the Princess Mary, daughter of King Henry VIII. the following words :—

Myne owne good Kate as ofte as you can not se me bodyly with your
prayers I pray you vvyte me and wyth thys specially because
it is to the hole Trynitie|wherin you shal doo a great pleasure
unto me whych am your lovyng mystres and ever wyll be

MARYE

The ten-leaved book, annexed to the principal book, was therefore the gift of the Princess Mary to some lady of her household, then about to leave her service, and the lady's name was Catherine. We have further assistance towards ascertaining who this lady was, in finding depicted on the second leaf the arms of Arundel ; but not Arundel only, but Arundel quartering Maltravers, plainly guiding us to the Lord Maltravers of the time. And when we find that the Lord Maltravers, of whom we have been speaking, married a lady of rank whose name was Catherine, is it too much to presume that this was a farewell gift of the Princess Mary to a lady of her household, in contemplation of her becoming Lady Maltravers ? Or that the other portion of the volume was a gift, at the same time, of Lord Maltravers to the same lady, who caused them both to be bound together in the volume as we now have it.

There is something of the sentimental in the couplet inscribed by Lord Maltravers, which certainly favours the notion that if it were presented by him, it was presented under no ordinary circumstances : a signification not only of more than common regard, but of a devotional spirit in the giver, and a recognition of the same spirit in the person to whom it was presented : while this view of the subject explains in the most satisfactory manner how the book remained in the family of Arundel, and descended in the line of that house. Or if it be thought too bold a conjecture, that it was presented as a token of affection to Lady Catherine by Lord Maltravers before their marriage, the less interesting supposition may be formed respecting it, that it had been the property of Lady Catherine before her marriage, and that this couplet had been written in it by Maltravers either before or subsequent to their union. Either supposition serves equally well to show how it is found descending from the time of King Henry VIII. in the line of the Earl of Arundel, since it was from this

union that the persons who afterwards enjoyed the dignity of Earl of Arundel descended. The question simply is, whether it is more probable that the book was an offering of gallantry or affection to the young lady, who was about to become his bride, or that it was already hers, and she permitted him, before or after marriage, to inscribe the couplet, intended to call him to her remembrance in her more serious hours.

The Lady Catherine, who married Lord Maltravers, was one of the daughters of Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset ; and though I have not succeeded in finding any list of the household of the Princess Mary sufficiently early, yet it is highly probable that she may have been one of that household, and spoken to by the Princess in the terms of familiarity which we see that she used : for she was no very distant relative of the Princess ; her grandfather, Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset, having been half-brother to Queen Elizabeth of York, grandmother of the Princess. Add, that the Greys were a cultivated, a learned, and a devout family, and that Lord Maltravers, then become Earl of Arundel, was a strenuous supporter of the claims of the Princess Mary to the crown, even as against the claims of the Lady Jane Grey, who was niece to Lady Catherine.

On the whole then, the history of the book seems to be this :—that it was prepared by some eminent French or Flemish artist for William, Lord Hastings, the Lord Deputy of Calais about the year 1475 : that it passed, it is not known how, into the possession of either the family of Grey or that of Arundel, and was the property of the Countess of Arundel, who was originally Lady Catherine Grey, one of the household of the Princess Mary ; that while in her possession, there was bound up with it a smaller piece, being “The Office of the Holy Trinity,” which had been a present to Lady Catherine from the Princess ; that they became jointly the property of the grandson of Lady Catherine and the Lord Maltravers Earl of Arundel, Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, from whom they descended to his great grandson, Philip Howard, who bestowed the book on his convent of Dominicans at Bornheim ; that it remained in the possession of this community when, in 1794, they fled to England ; and that it was disposed of by them to its present possessor in 1835.

It remains to be added, that while the manuscript was in possession of the Dominicans at Bornheim, and they were still residing at that place, it was brought under the notice of English antiquaries in a communication to the Gentleman's Magazine, anonymous, but by Mr. Webb, who gave a brief description of it. This was soon followed by a communication from the Abbé Mann, of Brussels, containing further details, including fac-similes of the couplet written by Lord Maltravers, and of the votive inscription of the Princess Mary. Both these writers followed a tradition of the Dominicans that the manuscript had been the property of Mary, Queen of Scots, and presented by her to one of her attendants, named Catherine. But this attribution of it was shown to be erroneous, in a subsequent communication to the same Miscellany, by Mr. Brooke, the Somerset Herald at Arms, who perceived, what no one could doubt, that the handwriting of the passage subscribed with the name "Marye" was not that of the Queen of Scots, but of the Princess Mary of England. He also pointed out Lady Catherine Grey as the lady to whom, in all probability, the latter portion of the volume had been presented, and he showed how it would naturally descend from Lord and Lady Maltravers to Philip Howard, the Cardinal of Norfolk. These communications may be found in *Gent. Mag.* for 1789, pp. 779 and 1078 ; and for 1790, p. 33.

Original Documents.

LETTER RELATING TO THE WARS OF EDWARD III. IN FRANCE, AND THE PUBLIC AFFAIRS IN THE YEAR 1346.

FOUND AMONGST THE MUNIMENTS OF ALAN CLAYTON LOWNDES, ESQ. OF BARRINGTON
HALL, ESSEX, AND COMMUNICATED BY WILLIAM CLAYTON, ESQ.

WE are indebted to Mr. Clayton for a transcript of an original letter, without date, addressed to "Dame Alys de la Rokele," by some person unnamed, who should seem to have been in attendance on Queen Isabella, widow of Edward II. It communicated some news that had reached the Queen of a great battle, in which the King of Navarre, the Duke of Burgundy, Sir John of France, the Duke of Normandy, the Count of Blaisois, the Duke of Athens, the Duke of Britany, the Count of Hurbonie (qq. Aubigny), the Count of Blois, and the Count of Armagnac had been taken prisoners. It also mentioned a victory by the fleet of the north over the Scots, and the taking of Calais and Boulogne. It is written in French, on a slip of parchment $10\frac{7}{8}$ inches by $2\frac{1}{8}$, and was found among the muniments of Alan Clayton Lowndes, Esq. of Barrington Hall, Essex, annexed to a roll in the nature of a rent-roll or custumal, showing the rents and services of the tenants of the Manor of Wykes, near Manningtree, in the same county. The roll bears date the 27th Edw. I., but the letter must of course have been written several years later. On the back of the letter, in a contemporary hand, were some memoranda or notes of services (days' work), partly rendered and partly due, of some tenants of the Manor of Wykes, and among them of a few who, from the difference in christian names only from some on the roll, were probably their sons or other heirs. The letter read *in extenso*, except where the abbreviated words seem to admit of doubt, is as follows:

Honn's ez reuereneys en touez chosys trechere dame, volvez sawer qe ce sunt le nouelys qe vynderunt ale Reygne Issabel ore lundi procheyn de le grauns qe sunt prys de Fraunce, le roy de Nawerne, le duk de Burgoyne, Syre Johan de Fraunce, duk de Normondye, le counte de Blasoyne, le duk de Athoneys, le duk de Bretaynne, le counte de Hurbonie, le counte de Bloys, le counte de Ermanak. Ez sews furunt le seyniurys qe fuerunt de le baytalye. Ez barount de Stafforde ez Cralbe, ez Syre Johan Darsy, cū le¹ flote de Norz, suerunt de vers les ezseos, ez les pryterunt, ez les hūt amene a noztere seyniur le roy. Ez la vile de Caleys la meyte ezt ars, ez la vile rendu; ez la vile de Boloynie ezt ars ez rendu; ez nous abuūz² perdu nos archerys ez grānsinye³ de nos awtre gēns.

§ Adeuz trechere dame ez vou doyne bone vye ez longe. A dame Alys de la Rokele.

¹ In the original, "le le flote."

² Probably "ahvunz," for avons.

³ Grauns mye ? great part. My or mi, the half. See Lacombe, and Kelliam.

This news it has been found impossible to identify with any events of that period. It must have been false in its details, though most likely some great battle had been fought, the results of which were thus misrepresented. At no time do we find the above-mentioned princes and nobles, or the greater part of them, prisoners. Boulogne was not taken by the English at the same time as Calais; and the surrender of the latter was not contemporaneous with any great battle. The report respecting those towns makes it evident that the letter was written while the war was carried on in that part of France, and before Calais had been any considerable time in the possession of the English. The only campaign in that locality before the taking of Calais was that in 1346-7, which was signalised by the victory of Cressy, and the siege and surrender of Calais. That battle was fought on the 26th of August, 1346. The victorious Edward, without delay, marched through the Boulonnois, burnt St. Josse, Neuchâtel, and Estaples, and reached Calais on the 31st of August. The siege commenced a few days after, and continued till August in the following year, when the place surrendered; it remained in the hands of the English till 1558. The affair of the fleet with the Scots is not very intelligible. Lord Stafford was at Cressy, and therefore could hardly have been in that expedition. David, King of Scots, was taken prisoner at Neville's Cross, in October 1346. An attack by the fleet may have occurred shortly before that event, but was less likely to have happened in the following year. We may therefore conclude from all these circumstances, that the battle referred to was that of Cressy, and that the letter was written very shortly after it, viz., early in September, 1346.

We have not found the names of any distinguished prisoners taken at Cressy. Froissart is silent on the subject, and from the description of the battle it is most likely they were very few. The Count of Blois was among the slain; Lord Aubigny was present and attended King Philip from the field; the Duke of Normandy, afterwards King John, was engaged in the siege of Aiguillon, in Guienne; the Duke of Brittany, Charles of Blois, was taken prisoner the following year at Roche d' Errien. If the King of Navarre and Duke of Burgundy had borne a share in that campaign, much more, had they been captured, Froissart would hardly have failed to mention them. Boulogne, near Paris, had been taken and burnt a few weeks before; this may account for the report as to Boulogne-sur-mer, which no doubt was the town meant in the letter.

Though not able to discover exactly who Dame Alys de la Rokele was, we would make a few suggestions as to how this letter may have happened to find a place among the muniments of the Barrington Hall Estate. The memoranda at the back seem to show that, having fulfilled its mission, it came into the hands of some steward of the manor mentioned in the Roll to which it was annexed, who made that use of the back of it to which at all times letters have been subject, and noted thereon a few particulars as to what tenants' services were in arrear; and though attached to the Roll for a temporary purpose, it has accidentally been preserved to the present time. We are thus led to look for some connexion between the steward and the lady to whom the letter was addressed; and if, after so long a time, we should find the evidence fail to show this distinctly, we may perhaps be able to establish good grounds for believing that such a connexion did exist. In Madox's *Form. Angl.*, p. 349, is a power of attorney from William de Bohun, Earl of Northampton, dated at Ramsden

Belhouse (Essex), the 6th of June, in 33 Edward III. (1359), authorising his dear and well-beloved Godfrey de la Rokele to deliver seisin of certain lands at Downham (Essex) that had been given by the Earl in exchange, and to accept seisin of others that had been taken in lieu of them. This was business likely to be transacted by a steward. A few years later, viz., in 44 Edward III. (1370), a Godfrey de Rokele was steward of the Honor of Rayleigh and Hundred of Rochford, in Essex,¹ which then belonged to Humphry de Bohun, who, as heir both of his father and uncle, was Earl of Hereford, Essex, and Northampton; the same having been granted by Edward III. in 1340 to his father, William de Bohun Earl of Northampton, who died in 1360.² This family, as is well known, held numerous manors in Essex. Among them were those of Wykes and Hatfield Regis; the former had been confirmed in tail general to William Earl of Northampton in 6 Edward III. (1333),³ and on his death it descended to his before-mentioned son Humphry, Earl of Hereford, Essex, and Northampton, who died, seised of it in 1372;⁴ the latter, which in the seventeenth century became part of the Barrington Hall Estate, also devolved on him, having been granted to his grandparents Humphry de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, and the Princess Elizabeth his wife, and their heirs, by her brother Edward II.⁵ Another part of their patrimonial property was the seignory of the Manor of South Okendon, in Essex, which for several generations had been held of them by the Essex family of Rokele; but had been recently carried, by the marriage of one of two coheiresses of the elder branch, to the family of Bruyn.⁶ The Rokeles were a knightly family, and the coheiress who married a Bruyn, namely Isolda, daughter of Philip de Rokele who died in 1295, was one of the ladies attending on Queen Eleanor,⁷ the mother of Edward II. and Princess Elizabeth, Countess of Hereford and Essex. If, as seems highly probable, a cadet of the Rokele family were steward to either of the Earls above-mentioned, that was not by any means an ignoble condition, unbecoming the son of a knight; but an office to which, seeing the long feudal relationship that had subsisted between the two families, he was likely to have been appointed; and the interval of twenty-four years between the supposed date of this letter and the time when Godfrey de Rokele appears to have been steward of the Honor of Rayleigh and Hundred of Rochford, does not render it improbable that he may also have been the steward of Wykes and other manors of William Earl of Northampton, when the letter was written. Dame Alys de la Rokele, whom we do not find mentioned elsewhere, may have been his mother or other near relative, if not his wife. The connexion of the Rokeles with the Bohuns fully suffices to account for her having some friend in the Court of Queen Isabella, and as Humphry, Earl of Hereford and Essex, and his brother William, Earl of Northampton, were actively engaged in the campaign of 1346, the Rokeles, and especially the steward of the latter, could not fail to take great interest in the events of the war, even if none of their own family were among the retainers who fought under the banner of the gallant Earl William, when he led the second division at Cressy.

W. S. WALFORD.

¹ Cal. Rot. Pat. p. 186; Morant, i. p. 277.

² Morant, i. p. 274.

³ Cal. Rot. Pat. p. 115; Morant, i. p. 467.

⁴ Morant, *ib.*

⁵ Morant, ii. p. 503.

⁶ Morant, i. p. 99.

⁷ *Ibid.* and Harl. MS. 1541, p. 9.

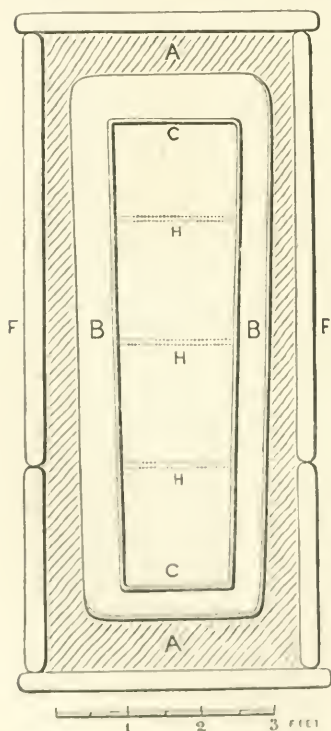
Proceedings at the Meetings of the Archaeological Institute.

December 1, 1854.

OCTAVIUS MORGAN, Esq. M.P., F.S.A., in the Chair.

Mr. MORGAN gave the following description of a remarkable Roman tomb, very recently found at Caerwent, Monmouthshire :—

"On 20th November last, a curious ancient sepulchre was discovered by some workmen who were making deep drains in a field in the immediate vicinity of Caerwent, Monmouthshire. The field adjoins the south side of the turnpike road leading from Caerwent to Newport ; the grave is about 20 feet from the road, and about a quarter of a mile from Caerwent. This road is a portion of the *Julia Strata*, the ancient Roman way, which passed through the middle of the rectangular space enclosed within the stone walls of the Roman station, *Venta Silurum*, or Caerwent.¹ It is probable that other graves may exist by the side of this road, though the drainers have not met with any remains of that nature.



Ground plan, Roman Tomb at Caerwent.

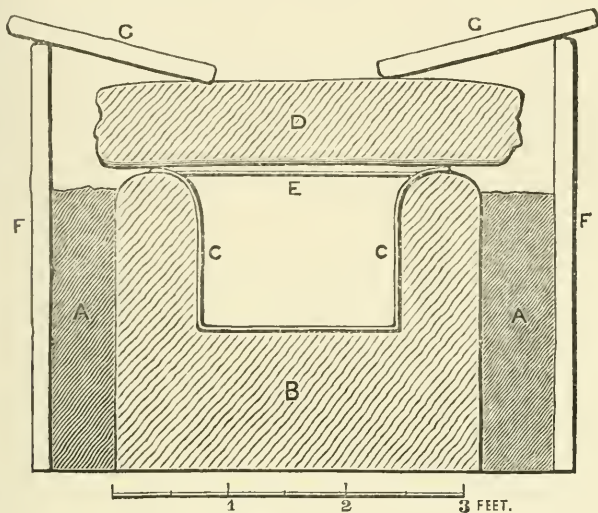
Within this chamber was a large roughly hewn stone coffin, formed out of a single block of the buff-coloured sandstone found in the neighbourhood, the Charleston rock of the New Passage. This coffin was externally 7 feet 3

"The grave, of which the top was about four feet below the surface, consisted of an oblong outer chamber, 8 feet 9 inches long, 3 feet 6 inches wide, and 3 feet high, neatly constructed with large thin slabs of paving stone without any cement. The sides consisted each of two slabs, one of which was 6 feet long and 3 wide, and the other smaller, 2 feet 9 inches by 3 feet ; the ends consisted each of one slab. The slabs were about 3 inches thick, very neatly squared, and being set upon their edges, formed a rectangular chamber, the earth retaining them in their position.

¹ A plan of this station, and an account of discoveries there, is given in Cox's *Tour in Monmouthshire*, vol. i. p. 25.

Roman remains found there are described, *Archæologia*, vol. ii. p. 3 ; vol. v. p. 40 ; vol. vii. p. 410.

inches long, by 3 feet at the head, 2 feet 6 inches at the feet, and 2 feet in depth. The space between the coffin and the slabs forming the walls of the chamber, was closely filled in with what seemed to be small coal, unburnt, rammed in tight and hard. This only came up to the top of the coffin, which was covered with a very large slab of the same stone, 8 inches thick, roughly hewn like the coffin, without any letters, characters, emblems, or sculpture of any kind. The top of this stone was some inches



Section of a Roman Tomb found at Caerwent.

below the upper edge of the upright slabs forming the chamber, and the cavity between the sides and ends of the cover of the coffin, and the walls of the chamber was, as it were, roofed in by smaller slabs of paving stone which rested on the top of the cover and the edges of the slabs. This is the description I received from the workmen who found it, but who before they gave notice to any one opened and examined it, and it had been rifled before I heard of the discovery. On removing the stone cover, the stone chest was found to contain a leaden coffin. This, however, consisted of a closely fitting leaden lining of the cavity in the stone, soldered at the corners, and lapped about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches upon the sides of the stone coffin, the exterior edge of which is somewhat rounded, as shown in the section. The lid of the leaden lining was a plain oblong sheet of lead laid over the cavity, and unsoldered; it had been, however, supported by three iron bars laid across the cavity for that purpose, but these were so corroded by decay as to have become only a mass of yellow ochreous rust, and had fallen to the bottom, leaving however marks on the lead and stone. On stripping back the lead, the workmen told me the coffin was found to be filled with clear water, at the bottom of which the skeleton was lying, partly covered with ochreous sediment. They emptied out all the water, took out all the bones, and carefully felt with their hands through all the sediment, in the hopes of, as one told me, of finding *rings*, and from what I have since heard there is reason to believe that something was found, though they

declared to me that they found nothing. The interior of the leaden lining was 6 feet 3 inches long, and 18 inches wide at the head, 16 at the feet, and 12 inches deep. The head was towards the east, and the bones were those of a full-grown man in the prime of life, as I judge from the state of the jaw and the teeth; the workmen had, however, extracted all the teeth, and though the bones were tolerably hard, the skull was broken in pieces by having fallen down, and most of the bones were altogether wanting, or broken up. In the absence of all sculpturo or inscription, and anything that may have been found in the coffin having been lost, it is impossible to form any conjecture as to the person interred; from the locality we may, I think, conclude that he was a Roman inhabitant of Caerwent, and a person of distinction from the mode of his interment. Specially remarkable circumstances, however, seem to me to be, the leaden lining to the stone coffin, and the singular fact of the coffin being surrounded by a closely rammed body of small coal. This must have been brought from a considerable distance, the nearest spots now known from which coal could be procured being either the Forest of Dean, or the Monmouthshire coal field, either being some 12 or 15 miles distant. In the excavations made to get to the grave, a great quantity of large pieces of stones of different sorts were found, some were of the Charston sandstone, some of hard grit stone, and some mountain limestone. Many were much blackened with smoke, some were reddened by the action of fire, and some of the limestone was partly burnt into lime on the outside. I was informed that these stones had the appearance of having been arranged as forming flues, or passages to carry off smoke, and that one ran in the direction of the road, and another towards Caerwent. I did not, however, see them, and it is difficult to understand the use of such flues of rough stones, apart from any building, and running near the then surface of the ground, perhaps in a heap of stones above it. The ground in the vicinity of the coffins had all been filled in, and consisted of gravelly earth and stones of various sizes, but these larger stones were all together near the grave, though rather above it, and between it and the road. The field was a grass meadow, of which the surface was a smooth sward, with no indication of anything beneath it."

Stone cists containing coffins of lead, of the Roman period, have very rarely been found in England. Mr. Hawkins stated, in his account of the Roman sarcophagus found in the Minories, and now preserved at the British Museum, that it presented the only example of that mode of interment which had fallen under his observation.² Hasted relates that in digging gravel at Whatmere Hall, in the parish of Sturry, Kent, a large slab was found at a depth of 5 feet, under which was a stone coffin enclosing another of lead, put together in six pieces without solder.³ It contained a skeleton of small stature. An earthen vase was found near the spot, which was situated on or very near the Roman road from Canterbury to the station at Reculver.

Mr. YATES observed that the remarkable feature of the interment described by Mr. Morgan, namely, the coal used for filling the space around the stone cist, suggested the enquiry whether coal had been used as fuel or worked to any extent by the Romans, during their occupation of Britain. It was probable that their workings were not carried to any

² *Archæol. Journal*, vol. x. p. 255.

³ Hasted's *Hist. of Kent*, vol. iii. p. 615.

great depth, and in some parts of South Wales it was well known that coal might be obtained almost immediately under the surface.

Mr. CLAYTON remarked that according to the facts which had fallen under his observation in Northumberland, in the course of his late explorations at Housesteads and other sites on the Roman wall, there is abundant evidence that fossil fuel was used by the Romans. The Stations *per lineam valli* were certainly supplied with coal, which must have proved a valuable resource in that severe climate; traces of ancient workings had been observed, and in the buildings which Mr. Clayton had excavated, he had repeatedly observed the soot and cinders, indicating frequent use of coal in the Roman settlements in the north.

Mr. MORGAN observed that he hoped to see the site of *Venta Silurum*, which might be termed the Monmouthshire Pompeii, fully explored; such an investigation could not fail amply to repay the labours of the archaeologist, and it had for some time past been contemplated by the Caerleon Antiquarian Association. He hoped that a commencement would be made during the ensuing spring.

The Rev. JOSEPH HUNTER gave an account of an illuminated Book of Prayers, presented to the convent of Bornheim by Cardinal Howard, and produced on this occasion by the obliging permission of Lady Stourton, now the possessor of this beautiful MS. Mr. Hunter's memoir is given in this volume. See page 65.

Mr. ALEXANDER NESBITT gave the following description of the "Dunvegan Cup," which, through the kindness of Norman MacLeod, Esq., was brought for examination. A representation of this curious wooden vessel was communicated to the Society of Antiquaries by W. Daniell, Esq., R. A., in 1819, and it has been engraved in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxii., pl. 33, p. 407. Another representation, from a drawing by Mrs. MacLeod, is given by Dr. Wilson, in his "*Prehistoric Annals*," p. 670.

"The very singular drinking-cup known as the Dunvegan Cup, from its having been long preserved at Dunvegan Castle, in the Isle of Skye, as an heirloom of the MacLeods of MacLeod, has been mentioned by Sir Walter Scott in the notes to the *Lord of the Isles*, by Dr. Wilson in his *Archæology and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, and in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* for 1852, vol. i., p. 8. The extreme rarity of such examples of the skill of ancient Irish silversmiths, and the very curious nature of its ornamentation, may warrant a somewhat more detailed notice than has hitherto been published.

"It is a cup of wood, probably either yew or alder, such as in Ireland is called a 'mether,' square above and rounded below, placed on four legs, and almost covered with mountings of silver, decorated with niello and gilding; the whole measures $10\frac{1}{4}$ inches in height, $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches in breadth at the mouth, and $5\frac{1}{2}$ at the broadest point, which is somewhat below the middle. Dr. Wilson (*Proc. of the Soc. of Antiqu. of Scotland*, 1852, Part I., p. 8) surmises that the cup is older than the inscription, which is on a broad silver rim at the mouth, and bears the date of 1493; however this may be, there can be no doubt that the whole of the ornamental mounting is of the same period, or that this period is not far distant from the date given by the inscription. The same ornaments in niello are to be found upon the rim at the mouth and on the lower part, and the pierced work of parts shows an evident imitation of the tracery and foliations of a

late period of pointed architecture ; mixed, however, with these, are to be found the filagree ornaments and the knotwork which in England characterise the work of very early times, but which are well known to have remained in use in Ireland until native art was entirely superseded by English, and in the Celtic parts of Scotland, almost until our own time. There are no traces of that singular ornamentation produced by the interlacing of animals so much used in Irish work of the XIth and XIIth centuries. That dislike of uniformity and the ingenuity in inventing new varieties of ornament, which are manifested in Irish work of all dates, are fully displayed here ; with very few exceptions, all the corresponding parts, though alike in form, have entirely different ornaments.

“ Many different processes have been employed in the decoration of the silver mountings, viz., gilding, which has been used on almost every part of the surface not covered by niello ; inlaying of niello into patterns cut for its reception ; raising a pattern in relief in thin silver, probably by stamping with a die ; piercing plates with foliated openings ; attaching wires of various sizes and forms, some flat and some twisted, or filagree work ; and engraving. Besides these, additional variety of effect has been produced by placing behind some of the pierced openings small plates of silver hatched or engraved on their surface, and not gilt, in order that they might contrast with the gilded silver through which the openings are pierced ; behind other openings remains of cloth are found, which, though now completely faded and almost colourless, may once, by its bright colour, have produced an effective contrast to the surrounding metal. Empty sockets remain which once held stones or glass, and others of smaller size still retain beads of coral.

“ These various methods of decoration are applied in the following manner : the mouth has a rim of solid silver gilt, 2 inches in depth, on the outside of which is engraved an inscription in black letter and in two lines ; the spaces between the letters are hatched with fine lines intersecting diagonally. The angles of the rim have strips ornamented with niello. The inside is quite plain, excepting that the letters *thg* are repeated on each side upon a small hatched space.

“ About $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches above the feet is a projecting ledge $\frac{5}{8}$ of an inch in width ; this is covered with thin silver ; that which covers the upper surface is flat, and bears a raised pattern, apparently stamped ; the under surface is curved and plain. At each angle of the upper surface is one of the empty sockets mentioned above, and on each side two three-sided pyramids with granulated surfaces, making them resemble piles of pins' heads. From the rim to the ledges run straight strips of thin silver embracing the angles ; these are stamped or repoussé in patterns, and in other parts pierced, and the surface covered with niello or gilding ; beneath the openings small pieces of engraved silver have been placed, most of which are now wanting ; by this means three different colours, viz., those of the gilding, the silver, and the niello, are brought into play. Midway between these are other bands, $\frac{7}{8}$ of an inch broad, the central parts of which are enlarged into circles of $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch diameter ; these bands are highly ornamented with filagree of great variety of pattern, and with pierced foliated openings ; in some of the circles these openings are so arranged as in some degree to resemble the tracery of a circular Gothic window.

“ In each space between the bands in the centre and at the angles both above and below, was fixed a small slip of silver gilt, and ornamented with

filagree, $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch long by $\frac{1}{4}$ inch broad, each slip having a small coral bead at one end; of these only seven now remain.

"In the part below the ledge, the central bands are similar (though of different patterns) to those occupying the same position above; those at the angles, however, differ from the angle-bands of the upper part; they are wider, and are ornamented with filagree, disposed in compartments divided by narrow strips, with patterns in niello. There are no small strips on this part of the cup.

"These bands all meet a circle 3 inches in diameter, which bears upon it a knot pattern; in the centre of this, at the bottom of the cup, is an empty socket, $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch in diameter, which no doubt once held either a stone or a piece of mosaic glass.

"The legs are meant to represent human legs, but show no attempt at correct modelling; their only ornament is a twisted wire running down the front; the feet are covered by shoes, which have a coating of niello, the legs being gilt.

"From the above detail, it will be seen that the cup, when in a perfect state, presented a very curious polychromatic effect; including that of the wood, not less than six, and perhaps even seven, colours were brought into play in its decoration.

"Excepting in the rim, the silver is used with great economy; it is too thin to possess sufficient strength, and accordingly many parts have suffered much from handling; in such portions of the ornament as are much raised, the filagree work is fixed upon thin plates which are let into sockets, and the back is packed with cloth or pieces of wood.

"The inscription on the rim is in that character in which many letters (as i, m, n, and u) are scarcely distinguishable; it has consequently been repeatedly mis-read; which has happened particularly with the proper names. The following reading, that of Mr. Eugene Curry, of the Brehon Law Commission, it is believed, is correct:—

| | | | |
|---------------------------------------|--|--|--------------------------------------|
| Kahña ingē y neill 93° Oculi omī i | uxor ioh'is meg te spāt do° et tu das | uigir p'neipis de escā illor ī tē op° | firmanac me fi fecit. Año do! 14. |
|---------------------------------------|--|--|--------------------------------------|

i.e. Katherina ingen ui Neill (O'Neill's daughter) uxor Johannis Meguighir (Mac Guire) principis de Firmanach (Fermanagh) me fieri fecit. Anno Domini, 1493°. Oculi omnium in te spectant Domine et tu das escam illorum in tempore opportuno.

"The latter part, it will be seen, is the 15th verse of the 144th Psalm.

"John Mac Guire is mentioned several times in the Annals of the Four Masters; he became one of the chiefs of the clan in 1484, when two Maguires were nominated after the murder of Gilla Patrick by his five brothers, at the altar of the church of Achadh-Uchair. Nothing is recorded of him in these annals except the successful forays which he made chiefly upon other branches of the Maguires, and his death in 1503, which is thus chronicled:—

"1503. Maguire, *i.e.* John, son of Philip, son of Thomas More, *i.e.* Gilla Duv, the choice of the Chieftains of Ireland, in his time the most merciful and humane of the Irish, the best protector of his country and lands, the most warlike opponent of inimical tribes and neighbours, the best in jurisdiction, authority, and reputation, both in Church and State, died in his fortress at Enniskillen, on Sunday, the 7th of the Calends of

April, after having heard mass, and after the victory of Uction and Penance, and was buried in the monastery of the friars at Donegal, which he had selected " (as his place of interment).

" Of Katharine O'Neill no notice seems to occur in these Annals."

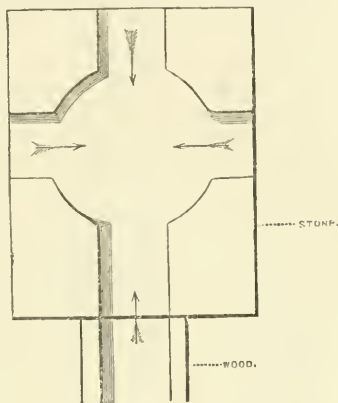
Mr. WALFORD communicated the following notice of the fragment of a sepulchral brass, purchased in London for the British Museum. It is a portion of a small kneeling figure in armour. No clue has been obtained to ascertain from what church it had been taken.

The quarterings upon the tabard of the figure on this brass are as follows: 1. Lozengy *arg.* and *gu.*, Fitz William; 2. Chequy *or* and *az.*, Warrene; 3. *Arg.* a chief *gu.*, over all a bend *az.*, Cromwell; 4. Chequy *or* and *gu.*, a chief *erm.*, Tatshall; 5. *Erm.* a fess *gu.*, Barnake; 6. *Arg.* 3 cinquefoils and a canton *gu.*, Dryby of Tatshall; 7. *Gu.* a lion ramp. *or*, Albini; 8. *Az.* 3 garbs *or*, Blundeville; 9. *Az.* a wolf's head erased *arg.*, Lupus; 10. *Arg.* a cross engrailed *gu.*, Green of Drayton; 11. Chequy *or* and *az.* within a bordure *gu.*, Mauduit; 12. *Gu.* 3 waterbougets *erm.*, Roos of Derbyshire and Notts; 13. Quarterly *or* and *gu.* within a bordure (*sa.?*) bezanty, Rochford; 14. Missing; 15. As the 1st. On the honour point is an annulet.

The person represented in this tabard was evidently a Fitz William, and as the quarterings comprise those of Green of Drayton and Mauduit, he must in all probability have been a descendant of Sir John Fitz William who died in 1418, by Eleanor, daughter of Sir Henry Green of Drayton, by his wife Matilda, daughter and heir of Sir Thomas Mauduit. The annulet is no doubt a mark of cadency, and may be assumed to have indicated, at the date of this brass, a fifth son; and seeing that no male descendant of that Sir John Fitz William appears to have had five sons within the period to which this brass can be referred, except John Fitz William, of Sprotborough, who was living in 9th Henry VIII., and Sir William Fitz William of Gainspark, who died in 1534; the person represented was most likely either Ralph, the fifth son of the former, or Thomas, the fifth son of the latter. Of this Ralph little seems known but that he travelled into Spain, an event in those days sufficiently rare to be recorded. When or where he died does not appear, though, as he did not subscribe the collection of Vouchers made by his brother Hugh in 1565 (See Bridge's Collins, iv. pp. 375, 386), it is probable he was not then living. His mother was a Damory and an heiress, and if the brass represents him, we may suppose the missing coat, No. 14, was Damory. Thomas, the fifth son of Sir William Fitz William of Gainspark, was of Northborough, Northamptonshire: when he died, or where he was buried, does not appear. He was a half-brother of Anne, wife of Sir Anthony Coke of Romford. The quartered coat of her father, as impaled with her husband's on his tomb, is given in Lysons' Environs of London, iv. pp. 193—4. The quarterings differ materially from these. They comprise Lisures, Lacy, Bertram, Clinton, Murrion, and Fitzhugh; while Green, Mauduit, Roos, and Rochford are absent. It might, therefore, be supposed that these could not be the arms of her brother, but the Pedigree in Bridge's Northamptonshire, ii., pp. 252—3, shows that the Fitz Williams were not entitled to quarter Green and Mauduit; for, though the male issue of Green had failed, they, who represented a sister, were not the heirs, because issue of a brother of their ancestress was living. Sir Anthony Coke died in 1576, which would seem to be a few years later than this

brass; and probably in the meantime the error had been discovered, and the quartered coat recomposed. To the quarterings given by Lysons, the above-mentioned Ralph had as much right as Thomas or his father; and therefore the variation between them and these does not determine to which of those two fifth sons the brass is to be appropriated. Neither branch of the family appears to have had any right to the arms of the ancient Earls of Chester. The only ground for their claiming them seems to have been their descent from Albreda, daughter and heiress of Robert de Lisures, who had been the widow of Richard Fitz Eustace, Constable of Chester, and was half-sister of Robert de Lacy, Lord of Pontefract, who died without issue, and was succeeded by a half-brother of Albreda, that took the name of de Lacy, and became constable of Chester.

The Rev. F. Dyson described the remains of a singular cruciform conduit formed of stone and wood, found at the Holy Well, Malvern Wells, during the construction of some new baths in September last. A block of blue lias rock, measuring about 22 in. by 18 in., formed the centre of four water-courses; three of these contributed streams of very pure water, which flowed out through the fourth in an easterly direction through a trunk of oak. The channels for the water measured 5 to 6 inches in diameter. Some portions of the old stone covering had subsequently been found. Mr. Dyson stated the supposition, that the cruciform fashion of this conduit might have had some connexion with the name of the "Holy Well."



Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. FALKNER, of Deddington.—A bronze socketed celt, found at Danes Hill, near Deddington, Oxfordshire. A bronze Roman lamp, with two burners, described as found at King's Holme, near Gloucester, where Roman remains have, at various times, been discovered. A bronze lamp with a single burner, found there in 1790, a bronze patera, stilyard, and several other reliques of the Roman period, are represented in the *Archæologia*, vol. x., p. 132. They were in the possession of Samuel Lysons. A leaden coffin with various antiquities had been brought to light there a few years before, and more recently an amphora and numerous Roman coins were found.¹

By Mr. WAY.—Impressions from two British or Gaulish gold coins, lately found in Surrey and Kent. One of them, now in the collection of the Hon. R. Neville, had been picked up by a labourer engaged in "fagging" oats, last harvest, in the West Field, at Hathresham Farm in the parish of Horley, near Reigate. The soil is clayey, and the field had

¹ *Archæologia*, vol. vii. pp. 376, 379; vol. xviii. p. 122. The place called Kingsholme is situated on the Ermin Street,

and remains of buildings were to be seen there supposed to be the site of a residence of the kings of Mercia.

been ploughed rather deeper than in previous seasons. One side of this coin is convex and plain; on the other, which is in remarkable preservation, appears the horse galloping to the left, with certain symbols in the field. According to the observations which Mr. Way had received from Mr. Evans, this coin is of a very rare and unpublished type. It is singular in two respects, as having so well formed a horse, in conjunction with the plain or nearly plain obverse, and in having above the horse the symbol of a hand clenched, and apparently holding a branch. A hand below the horse, Mr. Evans stated, is not uncommon on a class of Gaulish coins with the androcephalous horse, but he had not met with the hand in any position on a British coin. The class of coins to which this belongs,

was, however, current and struck in both countries. The weight is 83 grains. The other gold coin had been recently picked up by Mr. Worsfold of Dovor, on the surface of ploughed land on a farm called Stone Heap, in the parish of Northbrook, north-west of Dovor. Mr. Worsfold had sought in vain for any cairn or barrow from which the name of this farm might have been derived; he informed Mr. Way that he intended to present the coin to the Dovor museum, which has recently been enriched by numerous local antiquities, especially the collections formed by the Rev. W. Vallance. This coin is of a type, as Mr. Evans remarks, of ordinary occurrence both in Kent and elsewhere; and the only remarkable feature is an adjunct under the horse, which appears to be intended for a bird.

By Mr. C. TUCKER.—A large bronze spear-head, found with several others in a very decayed condition, at a spot called "Bloody Pool," in the parish of South Brent, Devonshire, on the verge of Dartmoor. The place is now a swampy hollow, but no longer a pool, and no record has been found of any conflict which might explain the name assigned to it. With the spears, which were accidentally brought to light in digging, there were four pieces of bronze tube, which may have been fixed on the lower extremities of the shafts. The strong rivets of bronze by which the spear-heads were attached to the shaft, remain perfect. The length of the spear-head, as nearly as could be ascertained, had been 14 inches, the greatest breadth of the blade, 2½

inches. The length of the tubes, about 7 inches; diameter, seven-tenths, tapering towards the extremity, which is closed like the ferrule of a

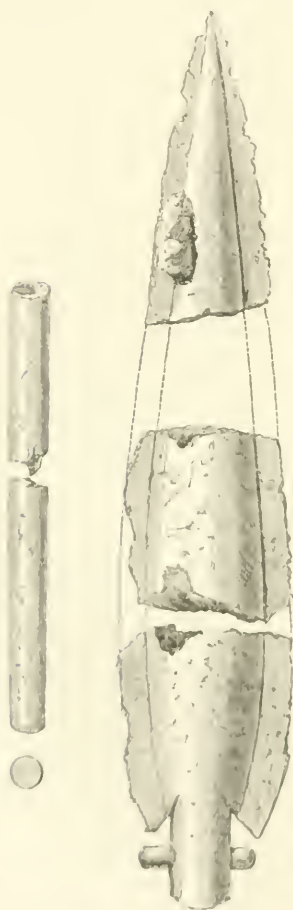


FIGURE 1. Spear-head
Found near South Brent, Devon.

walking-cane. The spear-heads, with one exception, were barbed, and bear resemblance to that found in the Severn, near Worcester, represented in this Journal, vol. ii., p. 187, and supposed to have been a fishing-spear. The blade in that example, now in the possession of Mr. Jabez Allies, is shorter, and of greater breadth; in both the socket is singularly short. See Mr. Allies' *Antiquities of Worcestershire*, 2nd edit., p. 30. All the spears found at Bloody Pool were broken into three pieces, and within their blades is a sort of core, not metallic; none appeared in the ferrules.

Mr. FRANKS observed that there had existed much uncertainty in regard to the ancient use of rivets to affix bronze spear-heads to the shaft. No example of a bronze rivet, as he believed, had previously been noticed; he had been disposed to think they were rarely, if ever, used, and that they were formed of wood. Spear-heads of bronze are either formed with side-loops, or apertures in the blade itself, supplying the means of attachment to the shaft; or where no adjustment of this kind is found, the socket is perforated for a rivet, which would necessarily injure the strength of the wooden shaft. Mr. Clibborn, who had carefully investigated this subject in Ireland, where bronze spears occur in great variety, thought that the rivets might have been of iron.

By Mr. G. V. DU NOYER.—Representations of the ancient cross and effigy of St. Gobnet, an Irish saint who lived in the seventh century. Amongst the remarkable early oratories of stone existing in the great Island of Aran, in the Bay of Galway, as noticed by Dr. Petrie (*Round Towers of Ireland*, p. 346) there is one of diminutive size assigned to this saint. Near the old church of Ballyvourney, co. Cork, are the foundations of her house, according to tradition, or more probably of her church; this was a circular building, of the bee-hive form, about 20 feet in diameter, and the upright stones which formed the doorway are still standing. In the Ordnance Survey the site is erroneously marked as the "Base of a round tower." Within a few fields of Ballyvourney chapel stands "St. Gobnet's stone." (See woodcut.) On the S. face of this slab is engraved, in lines now becoming faint, a cross pattée within a circle of two lines, measuring $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, and on the top of the circle is an outline of a human figure in profile, most rudely designed. A long cloak completely envelops the figure from the neck to the feet, and the hair appears to be divided over the forehead and falls behind. In one hand is represented a short pastoral crook or *cambatta*, which seems to be of that peculiar Irish form, of which examples in bronze are preserved in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy. Mr. Du Noyer regards this little figure as representing St. Gobnet herself, and thinks, from the form of the pastoral staff, that the slab may be contemporaneous with her times. Mr. Westwood expressed his opinion, that its date is not later than the eighth, and possibly as early as the seventh century. The effigy of St. Gobnet, who was believed to be descended from Conor the Great, King of Ireland, is of oak, measuring 27 inches in length, and 6 inches across the breast, and it is preserved in the Roman Catholic chapel at Ballyvourney. This little image is regarded by the country people with peculiar veneration; it is exhibited on the altar, on her feast day, and scarcely on any other occasion. It was originally painted in oil colour, the mantle being dark blue, the skirt of the robe below the girdle deep crimson, the upper part of the figure and the arms pale yellow, which may have been white now discoloured by time. Over the head is thrown a veil or coverchief, the left hand is raised and laid flat on the

bosom, whilst the right falls straight at the side and grasps the mantle. Such wooden effigies, Mr. Du Noyer observed, are very rare in Ireland ; he supposed the date of this figure to be the middle of the XIVth century.



St. Gobnet's Stone, Ballyvourney, Co. Cork.

Height, about 4 ft. 6 in.

By Mr. FARRER.—An antique tripod candelabrum, and a tazza, both of bronze, from Italy.—An ivory cup sculptured with subjects from the history of Noah, and set with jewels ; supposed to be a work of the XIth or XIIth century.—A figure of St. John the Evangelist, sculptured in ivory ; height 12 inches ; an example of XIVth century art, from Flanders.—A small shrine, in form of a miniature chapel with a high-ridged roof, encased in silver plate with *repoussé* ornament ; on the front are three figures, the central one in pontificals with a crozier in the left hand ; on either side is

a figure in armour. Date, about 1470.—A steel hunting-horn, elaborately chased with foliage in strong relief, and a steel guard of a sword, chased with chivalrous subjects.—A silver medallion, representing William, Duke of Saxony, 1586, represented on horseback, with a display of heraldic escutcheons surrounding the figure.

By Mr. NESBITT.—Casts from several carvings in ivory of mediæval Greek or Byzantine style. The most remarkable of these measures $9\frac{3}{4}$ in. by $6\frac{1}{4}$; it formerly was a part of the richly-decorated cover of a MS. belonging to the Cathedral of Besançon; and an engraving of it in this state will be found in Gori (*Thesaurus Veterum Diptychorum*); it is now preserved in the Cabinet des Antiques of the Bibliothèque Impériale at Paris. From its form it would seem probable that it was originally the central piece of a triptych. The figures sculptured upon it are about 6 in. in height, and represent Christ standing upon an elevated pedestal of three stages, two circular and one square, and placing his hands upon the heads of an emperor and empress, the former of whom stands on his right, and the latter on his left. On one side of the head of Christ are the letters IC, and on the other XC; over the emperor the inscription **ΡΩΜΑΝΟC ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥC ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ**, and over the empress, **ΕΥΔΟΚΙΑ ΒΑΣΙΛΙC ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ**. The persons represented are therefore Romanus Diogenes, Emperor of the East from 1067 to 1071, and his wife Eudocia, widow of Constantine Ducas.

As in consequence of the unvarying character of Byzantine art there is great difficulty in assigning to their proper period the examples which occur, one of the date of which as in this case, there can be no doubt, is of peculiar interest and importance, and it may be desirable to notice in some detail the costume of the several figures, and the distinctive peculiarities of the style of the sculpture.

The figure of Christ is attired in a loose tunic with large sleeves, over which is worn a piece of drapery (? a toga) a part of which is fastened round the body, while another part is thrown over the left shoulder, and hangs down over the left arm. The feet have no shoes but only sandals. A nimbus with three rays surrounds the head.

The costume of Romanus consists of—1. An inner garment with embroidered sleeves fitting somewhat tightly to the arm. 2. A robe reaching to the feet, with loose sleeves, and embroidered on the shoulders, at the bottom, and the sides (the dalmatic?). 3. A broad strip of rich embroidery hanging down before and behind (the head being passed through an aperture), the end brought round in front from the right side across the body, and carried over the left arm (the Pallium Imperatorium?). The empress has garments of precisely the same fashion as the two first of the emperor, but the outer garment is a cloak fastened over the right shoulder and held up by the left arm, this cloak is entirely covered with embroidery, and on the breast is a large patch also of embroidery, but of a different pattern. This is clearly the same decoration as that which in the mosaics of S. Vitale in Ravenna is seen in gold on the purple robe of the Emperor Justinian, and in purple on the white robes of his attendants. It is also to be observed on the robes of consular figures on diptychs, as on that of Halberstadt, and may possibly be the representative of the latus clavis.

The crowns worn by the emperor and empress are very nearly alike, a broad fillet with a quatre-foil ornament in front; on that of Eudocia there seem to have been ornaments at the sides as well as in front. The fillet

appears to enclose a cap, and long pendants hang on each side. The feet are covered by embroidered shoes. Plain nimbi surround the heads. The right hand of the emperor and the left of the empress are placed on their hearts, probably as a sign of devotion. In the Hotel de Cluny is a Byzantine bas-relief in ivory, the design of which resembles most closely that of the subject of this notice. Christ places his hands on the heads of the Emperor Otho II. and his wife Theophano, daughter of Romanus III., Emperor of the East. This has been supposed to be commemorative of the marriage of these personages, A.D. 972, but M. Lenormant, in the notice which accompanies the engraving of the bas-relief of Romanus in the last vol. of the *Trésor de Numismatique et de Glyptique*, inclines to the opinion, that on this last the coronation of Romanus and Eudocia is commemorated.

The figures in this instance are unnaturally long and very stiff in attitude; the faces are long and meagre, and wanting in expression, although as well as the hands, naturally modelled. The feet of the emperor and empress are absurdly small, those of Christ natural. The draperies of the figure of Christ are arranged with some elegance, though with a tendency to long straight folds; those of the imperial figures have almost the stiffness and straightness of boards, they are almost covered by a conventional representation of embroidery or jewel-work. On the whole, however, this bas-relief shows a state of the art of sculpture far superior to any contemporary work in the west of Europe.

Another of the casts exhibited, the original of which is believed to exist in a private collection in Paris, would appear to be of Byzantine work, but of a much earlier date, probably anterior to the period of the Iconoclasts. Upon it Christ is represented as a young beardless man, the face is peculiarly full, and the figure rather short in its proportions, it has, however, little trace of antique art. Over the figure is an arch, in the spandrels of which are peacocks.

Twenty-four other casts were from a twelve-sided box, preserved in the treasury of the Cathedral of Sens, twelve being from the sides and twelve from the cover which slopes on every side and meets in a point at the top. A band of enamelled copper, apparently Limoges work, of about 1300, is fixed round the bottom of the lid. The box has evidently been taken to pieces and reconstructed. The date of the ivory bas-reliefs may be placed with some probability in the XIth or XIIth centuries. The subjects are chiefly from the histories of Joseph and of David. The figures have a fair degree of life and movement, and some half-figures of angels, in the upper parts of the pieces belonging to the cover, some grace and beauty; the execution, however, is not very finished or careful. The whole have been engraved and noticed in Millin's *Voyage dans les Départements du Midi de la France*.

By the Rev. T. HUGO.—The central portion of an ivory triptych representing the Virgin with the infant Saviour in the upper compartment, and below it the Crucifixion, with the Virgin and St. John; date, XIVth century. It was found in Haydon-square in the Minorities, September, 1853.

By Mr. HEWITT.—A specimen of the "New pattern Artillery helmet," for an officer, as recently proposed. It is formed of felt with a knob for a plume on the crown of the head, from which diverge four bands of gilt metal, forming a framework resembling the supposed head-piece found at Leekhampton, exhibited by Captain Bell at the previous meeting (*Journal*, vol. xi. p. 413). Mr. Hewitt pointed out the remarkable analogy of form

and construction, which appears to corroborate the belief that the relique found in Gloucestershire had been part of a defence, for the head, and offered some remarks, on examples of helmets in later times with a ring on the apex, probably for the attachment of the cointise; especially that supplied by the sculptured effigies of Sir William de Staunton, who died 1326 (Stothard's *Monumental Effigies*, p. 47).

By Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN, M.P.—A leaden disk, diameter $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches, charged with a lion rampant; it was found during recent repairs of St. Wollos' Church, Newport, Monmouthshire.—A singular object of brass, purchased at Nuremberg, apparently a kind of æolipile intended to be used with a small lamp for fumigation, or diffusing scent in an apartment; it is a curious example of the ingenuity and caprice of the old German workers in metal.

By Mr. FITCH.—An enamelled ornament of copper, bearing general resemblance to a six-petaled flower; it was found at Southacre, Norfolk. It is formed with a small loop on one side, in the same manner as certain enamelled escutcheons, of which several examples have been given in this Journal, and like these, it was probably a pendant decoration attached to horse-furniture. The object recently added to Mr. Fitch's cabinet of Norfolk antiquities, is, however, of a fashion hitherto not noticed; a six-leaved ornament is introduced on a blue ground in the centre, and thence radiate six projections, each charged with a quatrefoil filled with blue enamel. Diameter about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Date, probably XVIth century.

By Mr. W. J. BERNIARD SMITH.—A richly-engraved wheel-lock of steel, of most elaborate workmanship. Amongst the ornaments is conspicuously introduced the double-headed eagle of the Empire.

Impressions from Seals.—By the Hon. R. C. NEVILLE.—Impression from a small brass matrix, of pointed-oval form, found in front of the "Brick House," at Debden, Essex, on October 16, ult. The device is a tonsured head, seen in profile, and over it is a mullet. The inscription is as follows—CAPVT SERVI DEI.² Date, XIVth century.

January 5, 1855.

FREDERIC OUVRY, Esq., Treas. Soc. Antiqu., in the Chair.

Mr. E. W. GODWIN sent an account of the recent excavation of an extensive Roman villa at Colerne, about six miles from Bath, and exhibited a ground-plan, with representations of the mosaic floors which have been uncovered through the exertions of the Rev. G. Heatheote, Vicar of Colerne, and under Mr. Godwin's directions. His memoir will be given hereafter. It is to be regretted that the owner of the site is not disposed to preserve these remains, in which he takes no interest, and the building will probably ere long be again concealed from view.

Mr. GREVILLE J. CHESTER communicated a note of his recent examination of a tumulus on Pen Hill, one of the highest parts of the Mendip range. The mound was curiously constructed. The outside was completely covered with large pieces of red sandstone, beneath which there was fine earth. In the centre were two layers of stones, between which appeared a large deposit of charred wood and wood-ashes, but no traces of bones were to be

² This inscription has occurred on the fictitious matrix of stone, noticed on other mediæval seals. It was introduced in this Journal, vol. x., p. 68.

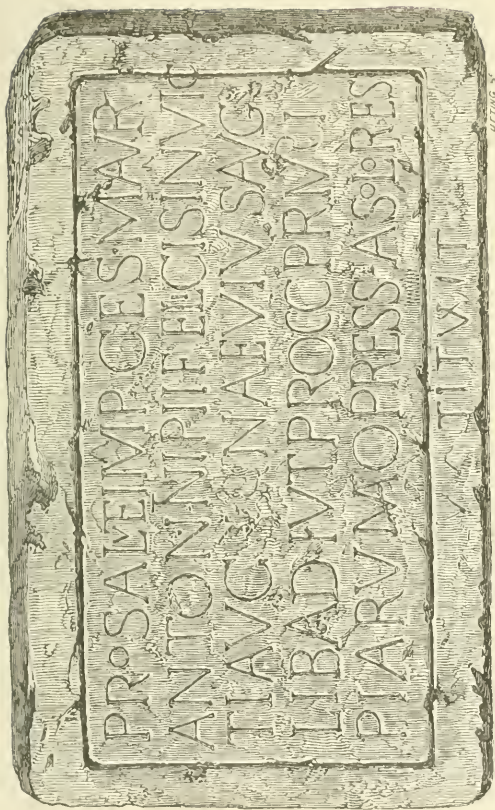
discerned. Most of the barrows in the neighbourhood, Mr. Chester observed, had been opened several years ago ; in some of them urns had been found, and, in one instance, weapons of flint.

The Rev. H. M. SCARTH communicated an account of Roman remains found during the previous month at Combe Down, near Bath, and of a remarkable inscription of which he sent representations. On Dec. 11, in the course of excavations in a garden belonging to Major Graham, the workmen found two stone coffins, placed north and south, the feet being towards the south. They measured externally about 6 feet 8 inches by 1 foot 3 inches, the length of the cavity being about 6 feet 3 inches, and the ends of the coffins were rounded, as noticed in other Roman interments at Bath. The cover of one of these coffins was quite plain : within were found some very large bones, the thigh bone measured 18 inches in length, and 4 inches in girth ; a jaw bone of unusual size was also found, with the teeth in good preservation, and several fragments of iron, supposed to have been the nails of Roman sandals. The other coffin had its covering formed of four stones, one of them being an inscribed tablet, taken doubtless from some Roman structure and applied to the purpose here described. This stone, which measures about 2 feet 7 inches by 18 inches, covered the breast and body of the corpse. There were three skeletons without skulls deposited outside this coffin on the east side of it, and within it was found a skeleton with a perfect skull and jaw, the latter discoloured by a small bronze coin, now nearly decomposed, which had probably been placed in the mouth as a *naulum* for the transit over the Styx. At the feet lay three skulls, supposed to have belonged to the bodies, of which the headless remains were found outside the coffin. The position of these coffins is 47 feet to the north of the three interments found in the same plot of ground last spring, together with the stone cists containing burned bones and the head of a horse, as described by Mr. Searth in this Journal, vol. xi., pp. 281, 408. A considerable quantity of coarse unbaked pottery and a few fragments of " Samian " ware were found around the coffins. The tablet brought to light in this singular position has been regarded by antiquaries, who take interest in the vestiges of the Roman period, as a valuable addition to the inscriptions which relate to Britain. Some portions of its surface have suffered injury, and various interpretations have been proposed, no slight difficulty having arisen in deciphering an inscription in damaged condition, by the aid of facsimiles and impressions taken with moistened paper, which were supplied by the kindness of Mr. Searth. A discussion took place on the present occasion, in which the Rev. Joseph Hunter, Dr. Bruce, Mr. Franks, and other members took part.

A more accurate representation having been subsequently obtained, we have been favoured with the following observations by the Rev. Joseph Hunter :—

" The copy of the Bath inscription (as shown in the woodcut) differs in several important respects from the copy originally sent from Bath to the Institute, and in a private communication to myself ; so that any attempt at explaining the one must needs differ from an attempt upon the other. The most material difference is in the substitution of AVG LII for AC LII where the c and the u were so decided in the first copy as not to leave room for conjecture or amended reading.

" I think with you that we have now got the inscription as correctly deciphered as it ever will be, and, with the exception of one word, I think



Inscription discovered Dec. 11. 1864, on Combe Down, Bath.
NOW PRESERVED IN THE MUSEUM OF THE BATH INSTITUTE.

the reading and meaning may be as well made out. I do not at all think if I saw the original I should form a different judgment.

PRO SALUTE IMPERATORIS CAESARIS MARCI AVRELII
ANTONINI PII FELICIS INVIC
TI AVGVSTI . . . NÆVIVS AVGVSTI
LIBERTVS ADJVTOR PROCVRATORVM PR IM
PIA RVINA OPPRESSVM A SOLO RES
TITVIT

“ For the safety,—or whatever *salus* in this connection, where we for ever find it, may mean,—of the Emperor Cæsar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius, happy, invincible (or unconquered) Augustus (supply a prenominal where the stone is damaged, probably one represented by two letters, as *cx*) Nævius, a freedman of Augustus the adjutor of the procurators, (then comes the doubtful word, which perhaps may be *PROVINCIE*,) restored from its foundations (this building, temple, or whatever it was, for the edifice was there to speak for itself, when it had been thrown down by an impious act of ruination.

“ Another reading of the doubtful word may be *PRIMARIVS*, and I think some one suggested *PRETORIVM*. I fear the word is too far gone for any one to venture to pronounce conclusively what the reading of it is.

“ A question arising upon this inscription is, which of the emperors, who called themselves Antoninus, it commemorates. It is a question of about fifty years A.C. 180—230. On a first view one would refer it to Marcus Aurelius, the immediate successor of Antoninus Pius, the first of the Antonines, and I see not why it should not belong to his reign, unless it can be shown (a point I have not examined) that his name is never found in inscriptions with the additions Felix and Invictus. If it shall appear that his name does not occur with these additions, then undoubtedly it may be assigned to the three years’ reign of Heliogabalus, or to any intermediate emperor who called himself Antoninus, and who is known to have used those additions. But at present I see no improbability in assigning it to the emperor so well known by his name of Marcus Aurelius.

“ There cannot, I conceive, be a doubt that there had been some tumult at Bath, whether a religious or a political ferment we should probably know had not the edifice been left to speak for itself. An edifice of some kind had been destroyed which this public officer of the state restored. I should be glad to think that it was a temple or other building raised for purposes of heathen devotion, and that the discovery made known to us by Mr. Scarth might supply the occasion of bringing any Roman inscription to bear upon that very dark subject, the state of Britain in the Roman times in respect to the prevalence of Christianity. On this it would be premature to offer more than a possible suggestion; but the conjecture receives some countenance from the fact, that another of the Bath inscriptions, of very near the date to which this must be assigned, records the restoration to its proper use of a ‘*Locum Religiosum per insolentiam erutum.*’ Professor Wurd, who wrote a Dissertation on this inscription, printed in the Philosophical Transactions, vol. xlviii., 332, assigns it to the reign of Severus.

“ Nævius the Adjutor, a Roman officer, to whose duties sufficient attention seems hardly to have been paid by the writers on Roman Antiquities, may seem to have been the proper officer to superintend this re-edification. His name, I believe, is not found in any other inscription discovered in

England. But in Gruter, civ., no. 9, we have—P. Nævius, Adjutor, in an inscription found at Tarracona. We find also, in Gruter, cccxxi., no. 8, *Adjutore Proce. Civitatis Senonum Triassinorum Meldorum, &c.*, which shows that the Adjutor to the Procurators is not an officer unknown to inscriptions."

We are also indebted to the learned historian of the Roman Wall for the following remarks:—

"I have carefully examined the corrected copy of the Bath inscription. In transmitting my views of the way in which it is to be read I beg that they may be regarded simply as a contribution towards ascertaining truth. In the case of inscriptions that are damaged or obscure it is always dangerous to pronounce an opinion without having submitted each letter to the examination of both sight and touch, which I have not had it in my power to do. As far as my present knowledge goes, I am disposed to expand the inscription thus:—

Pro salute Imperatoris Cæsaris Marci Aurelii Antonini Pii Felicis Invicti Augusti . . . Nævius Augusti libertus adjutor Procuratorum principia ruina oppressa a solo restituit.

"It may be translated in something like this form:—For the safety of the Emperor Cæsar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, the pious, fortunate and invincible Augustus. . . Nævius, the freedman of Augustus and the assistant of the Procurators restored these chief military quarters, which had fallen to ruin.

"The first question that arises here is respecting the emperor specially addressed. I find that the names and epithets used in this inscription are in others applied both to Caracalla and Heliogabalus, with the exception of the word *invictus*; and in no other instance that I can find is this applied to either of these emperors. I incline to Mr. Franks' opinion, that Heliogabalus is the person here intended, for the following reasons:—1. On the murder of Heliogabalus his name seems to have been erased from inscriptions, or the slabs themselves thrown down. This stone having been used to cover a tomb must have previously been removed from its original position. 2. From the indistinctness of some of the letters, I take it for granted that the inscription is not deeply carved; this, together with the omission of the A in Cæsaris, and the occurrence of tied letters, seem to indicate the later, rather than the earlier period. 3. Had Caracalla been the person intended, one of his well-known epithets, such as *Parthicus*, *Britannicus*, or *Germanicus*, would probably have occupied the place of *invictus*; so far as I have noticed, Heliogabalus had earned no such distinctions: his flatterers therefore, on his assuming the purple, would have no resource left but to bestow upon him the indefinite title of *invictus*.

"The next thing which occurs is the name of the dedicator. Mr. Hunter remarked that the name NÆVIUS occurred in Gruter. It is not without interest to observe, that one of the examples furnished by that author (p. civ., no. 9) contains that name with the epithet *adjutor* appended.

TVTELAE
V. S.
P. NÆVIUS
ADIVTOR.

"The Nævius of the slab found at Bath was a freedman of Augustus, and

an assistant or secretary of the procurators of the province. We are not without an authority for the reading *Adjutor Procuratorum*. In Gruter. p. cccxxi., no. 8, the following occurs :

. . . MEMORIAE . AVRELI
DEMETRI . ADIVTORI
PROCC.

With reference to the office of procurator, Dr. William Smith, in his Dictionary of Antiquities, art. *Provincia*, has this remark :— ‘No quaestors were sent to the provinces of the Cæsar. In place of the quaestors, there were *Procuratores Cæsaris*, who were either equites or freedmen of the Cæsar. The procuratores looked after the taxes, paid the troops, and generally were entrusted with the interests of the *fiscus*.’ The individual in question was a freedman of the emperor’s, and though at the time that the dedication was made he was only an assistant to the procurators, he might be in training for the personal assumption of the office.

“The word which I conceive to be *principia* presents the greatest difficulty. It appears that the stone is damaged in this part. We are necessarily driven to conjecture in order to supply the vacuity between the x and the i at the end of the fourth line. The inscription speaks of the restoration of something which had become ruinous. If I correctly read the other parts of the inscription which seem to be quite plain, this is the only word left to reveal to us the precise object of the dedicatory exertions. In the station at Lanchester, a slab has been found (Horsley, Durham, No. xii.), containing on its third and fourth lines the following words :—

PRINCIPIA ET ARMAMEN
TARIA CONLAPSA RESTITUIT

Here we have evidence that there was a class of buildings called *principia* which like other buildings would fall into ruin and require restoration. This word seems best to suit the damaged part of the inscription before us. The only letters that we require to draw upon the imagination for are the first i in the word, which has probably been attached to the top of the left limb of the x, and the c, for which there is sufficient room on that injured part of the stone between the x and the i. Perhaps the word *principia* might be translated officers’ barracks. The remainder of the inscription requires no remarks.”

We are indebted to Mr. Searth’s kindness for the friendly permission to present, with these remarks by Mr. Hunter and Dr. Bruce, the accompanying representation of this inscription, previously to the publication of a memoir on the subject, which Mr. Searth has prepared for the forthcoming volume of the Transactions of the Somersetshire Archaeological Society. We must refer our readers to the more full statement which will there be given of the various interpretations offered by other antiquaries. The inscribed stone, it may be observed in conclusion, was purchased by Mr. Searth shortly after the discovery, and presented to the Bath Institution, where it may now be examined, through the liberality of that zealous and intelligent investigator of the remains of *Aquæ Solis*.

Mr. Poynter offered some observations on the early Christian mosaics which decorate the vaults of the mosque of Sta. Sophia at Constantinople. He produced specimens of the brilliant vitrified materials employed in

these works, comprising red, green, two shades of blue, gray, amber-coloured tesserae, and tesserae enclosing a thin foil of gold or silver; the silver, which is remarkably brilliant in effect, being, as it is believed, peculiar to these mosaics. These specimens had been given to Mr. Poynter by a member of the diplomatic body at Constantinople; they had fallen and been thrown aside during the recent repairs of Sta. Sophia. They had apparently been originally set in a layer of fine plaster.

Mr. DIGBY WYATT gave an account of the peculiar character of the mosaics of Sta. Sophia, with remarks on the distinctive peculiarities of Roman and Greek mosaics. He brought for examination the work recently produced by the Prussian Government, illustrating the Christian monuments of Constantinople, from the Vth to the XIIth century.¹ For the opportunity of inspecting this splendid volume, the members of our Society were indebted to the Institute of British Architects, from whose library it was brought, and Mr. Wyatt also laid before the meeting, through the kindness of Professor Donaldson, the publication entitled, "Aya Sophia, &c., as recently restored by order of H.M. the Sultan Abdul Medjid;" from the drawings of the Chev. Gaspard Fossati, the Architect employed during the works carried out in 1847-48.² The first church dedicated by Constantine or Constantius, 326-360, was destroyed by fire in the VIth century, and rebuilt by Justinian; it was completed in 537, every care being taken in its construction and decoration to obviate the risk of injury from any like disaster, and it has been preserved to the present time notwithstanding the frequent conflagrations that have occurred at Constantinople. In 1453, Mahommed II. destroyed all the arrangements adapted to Christian worship, and the golden mosaics of the vaultings were concealed by whitewash. They had been brought to light anew for the first time during recent restorations under the direction of the Chev. Fossati, and it has been related that on one occasion the Sultan being present when a portion of these gorgeous decorations, consisting of figures of sacred personages and Christian emblems, was revealed to view, he remarked in French to the architect, "you must cover over all this, the time is not yet arrived."

The gold-ground mosaic, Mr. Wyatt observed, was an old Roman art, of which numerous examples exist at Pompeii. This was the *opus figulinum*, as distinguished from the *lithostratum*, or mosaic formed of stones and opaque materials. Until about the year 500, almost all the churches in Italy were decorated by the Roman artists in mosaic, and after that time by Greek artists: the principal example of the early time being procured at Sta. Maria Maggiore, executed in 432. The vaultings at Constantinople may be regarded as the first great type now existing of Greek mosaic. Mr. Wyatt offered some valuable remarks on their technical execution, and the characteristic peculiarities of the Greek work as compared with the Latin. He has subsequently entered into greater detail on this interesting subject in a memoir addressed to the Institute of British Archi-

¹ Alt-Christliche Baudenkmale von Constantinopel vom v. bis xii. Jahrhundert, &c. By W. Salzenberg, Berlin, 1851. Large folio, with 39 plates. A full notice of this important work was communicated to the Institute of British Architects, by

Mr. C. Nelson, Hon. Sec., on Feb. 5, 1855, and it has been printed in their transactions.

² Lithographed by Louis Haghe, London, 1852. Folio.

teets, and we would refer our readers to the report which has been published in their Transactions.

Mr. Wyatt also stated the grounds of his belief that the windows of Sta. Sophia, which are formed of marble slabs pierced in small apertures, had been filled with coloured glass, probably with plates of the same brilliantly coloured material employed, when broken into cubes, in the execution of the mosaics. The assertion of the Benedictines, that coloured glass was not known previously to the time of Charlemagne, had been generally received as correct until recent times, but allusion to its existence as early as the year 600 had been found, and the details now made known regarding Sta. Sophia suggest the conclusion that it had been in use in the earlier part of the VIIIth century. Theophilus and other writers allude to the rich effect of light coloured by transmission as shown in the Church of Sta. Sophia.

Mr. WESTWOOD communicated an account which he had received from Dr. Shurlock, of Chertsey, describing the remains of a richly decorated pavement lately found on the site of Chertsey Abbey. He produced a collection of drawings of the tiles which display subjects from the Old Testament, David slaying the Lion, David in the presence of Saul, a spirited representation of the conflict between a knight and a lion, and other designs showing greater freedom and skill in their outlines than any similar works of their date, which appears to be about the close of the XIIIth century. Mr. Westwood produced some portions of this pavement, and a fragment of a weight, as supposed, of well-baked clay, found at Chertsey Abbey. A perfect specimen, since found, weighs precisely 1½lb.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.—Several fragments of bronze, comprising part of a palstave, a tube of metal, and a broken object of rare occurrence, probably intended to be affixed to the end of some long-hafted weapon. In form it resembles the mouth-piece of a trumpet, and a similar relique found with Roman remains in Scotland, and described by Gordon as in the possession of Baron Clark, is termed a Roman trumpet.¹ The dilated extremity, however, is not perforated so as to serve the purpose of a mouth-piece. These fragments, apparently part of a hoard of broken metal for purposes of casting, were found, as it is believed, in Cambridgeshire, and had been acquired with the collections of the late Mr. Deck. Several Saxon ornaments, beads, objects of bronze, &c., from the cemetery at Wilbraham, including an example of the pendants of bronze, bearing some resemblance in their form to latch-keys, and of which several remarkable types have been given by the Hon. R. Neville, from the same locality (Saxon Obsequies, plates 13, 14). A richly ornamented brooch of gilt brass, set with jewels. It is represented from drawings by Sir H. Dryden, Bart., in the Memoir on Roman and other remains found in Bedfordshire (Publications of the Camb. Antiq. Soc., 4to. 1845). It was found with human remains at Topler's Hill, near Edworth, Bedfordshire.

By Mr. FRANKS.—Several Irish antiquities of bronze, from the collection of the late Mr. T. Crofton Croker, including two curved trumpets, of the type peculiar, as it is believed, to Ireland; they are specially deserving notice as having been found with bronze swords and celts, indicating that

¹ Itinerarium Septentrionale, p. 117, plate 50.

they belong to the same period as those earlier antiquities of bronze.—A large eelt with engraved ornament, chiefly in chevrony lines over nearly the whole surface ; an implement of uncommon form, probably a kind of chisel, with a cross bar (compare the last fig. in no 3, Wakeman's Handbook of Irish Antiquities, p. 153)² and a singular blunt socketed implement of unknown use ; it was presented by Lord Londesborough to Mr. Croker. These antiquities have subsequently been added to the collections in the British Museum. Mr. Franks brought also for examination the silver ingots and broken ornaments found with a large hoard of Roman silver coins near Coleraine, as related by Mr. Yates on a previous occasion (Archæol. Journal, vol. xi. pp. 283, 409). The entire weight of the bullion with the coins, of which many are in bad condition, is more than 200 ounces. The metal is not of very pure quality. This discovery, of which a full account with a description of the coins has been given by Mr. Scott Porter in the Ulster Journal of Archæology, vol. ii., p. 182, presents the most remarkable fact on record of the occurrence of Roman reliques in Ireland.³ Mr. Franks pointed out three fragments amongst the hoard, the ornamentation of which presents no trace of Roman work. Their character is, however, not distinctly marked ; some persons have regarded the ornament as analogous to that of the Saxon age, but these portions are probably of Irish work, and one fragment appears undoubtedly Irish. It is partly inlaid with a kind of metallic paste like niello.

By the Rev. P. C. ELLIS.—A square enamelled plate of copper, of *champlevé* work, representing a demi-figure of our Lord, with the right hand upraised in the gesture of benediction, and holding a clasped book in the left. Around the head is a cross-nimb, and the prevailing colours are blue, red and white. The plate, now in a very imperfect and decayed state by the effects of oxidation, measures nearly 2½ inches in each direction ; it had been affixed by four rivets, probably to a processional cross, the binding of a *Textus*, the side of a shrine, or some other object of sacred use. This relique of the art of enamel in the XIIth century, of which scarcely any example has been described as found in the Principality, had been discovered during recent restorations of the church of Penmon Priory, Anglesea, near the old stone altar of rubble work plastered over, which was concealed under the floor upon which the communion-table had been placed. A detailed account of the church and of this discovery, with a representation of the enamelled plate, has been given by Mr. Longueville Jones, in his Series of Memoirs, entitled—"Mona Mediaeva," in the Archæologia Cambrensis, Jan. 1855. Third Series. No. i. p. 41.

By Mr. A. NESBITT.—Electrotypes of heads of statuettes on the base of the "Albero della Madonna," in Milan Cathedral, a candelabrum with seven branches, of remarkable workmanship, considered by Mr. Didron to be a production of the XIIth century. See his description and the plates given in the Annales Archéologiques.—Casts from the three diptychs of ivory preserved in the treasury of the Cathedral of Monza, in Lombardy.

By Mr. EDWARD HOARE.—Representation of a bronze weight in the

² Compare one similar in some respects, in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy, figured in this Journal, vol. viii., p. 91 ; and one figured in Mr. Bate-man's Vestiges of the Antiquities of Derbyshire ; Introd. p. 8.

³ See notices of discoveries of Roman Coins, &c., in Ireland, Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. ii., p. 184 : Ulster Journal of Archæology, vol. ii., p. 187.

form of a bird like a duck on an hexagonal pedestal, grotesquely fashioned. It was described as having been dug up, in August last, on the lands of Granabrah, a mile N.W. of the city of Cork, and it is now in Mr. Hoare's collection. Weight, 2 oz. 12 dwt. Bronze weights of similar fashion have been brought to this country from the Burmese Empire.

By Mr. C. DESBOROUGH BEDFORD.—A certificate of legitimacy granted to Cornelius le Bruin by the Consuls and Senate of Cologne, dated March 18, 1661. It states that he had made declaration of the legitimacy of his birth, and had called in evidence thereof two citizens of Cologne. The seal *ad causas* had accordingly been appended to the certificate. The design of this seal, which is of circular form, appears to be of the latter part of the XVth century. St. Peter bearing the keys and a book of the gospels, is represented under a canopy of tabernacle-work; beneath are embattled walls and a gate, typifying the city; at each side is introduced an escutcheon of the arms of Cologne, on a chief three crowns.—*S. CIVITATIS. [COLONIE]NSIS. AD. CAUSAS.*

Impressions of Seals.—By Mr. T. WILLSON.—Seal of the Hundred of Flaxwell, Lincolnshire, for authenticating passes given to labourers and servants, in accordance with Stat. 12 Rich. II., A.D. 1388. The matrix has been lately found at Fishtoft near Boston. (See Archæol. Journal, Vol. xi., p. 379.)

By Mr. J. GREVILLE CHESTER.—Impressions from the seal of the city of Wells. On the obverse appears an architectural composition, intended probably to represent the city, with a demi-figure of the Saviour above, between the sun and the moon, and at the extreme base are three arches, which seem to typify the wells from which the city was named. The inscription is as follows,—*SIGILLVM : COMMVNE : BVRGII : WELLIE :* terminating with a star within a crescent. The reverse displays a tree with intertwining limbs and large foliage, supposed, as Mr. Chester observes, to represent an ash. From beneath its roots issues a copious stream in which is seen a pike seized by an heron or a stork, and other birds fly around or are perched on the tree.⁴ The inscription is—*✠ ANDREA : FAMVLOS : MORE : TVERE : TVOS,* with the crescent and star as before. The seal is circular, diameter nearly 2½ inches. The design is boldly cut, and the date appears to be about 1250. The device on the reverse doubtless represents the remarkable spring known as St. Andrew's Well, or Bottomless Well, which rises near the Palace, emitting a stream sufficing to surround that structure with its waters. The church of Wells from earliest times appears to have been dedicated to St. Andrew; the city was divided into two parts, the Liberty of St. Andrew, in which stand the Cathedral, Bishop's Palace, Deanery, &c., and the town or borough.—Seal of Donald Og, son of Donald Roe Mac Carthy, prince of Desmond, who died in 1389. It is of a circular form; within an eight-foiled compartment is represented a mounted figure, bearing a sword; there is no indication of armour, and the head appears to be bare—** s' : DOVENALDI : OG : FILI : D : ROGH MACARTHII.* The matrix was in the possession of Dr. Petrie, as described by him, Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, Vol. i., p. 383.

⁴ The arms of the City of Wells are thus given,—*per fesse ar. and vert, a tree ppr. issuing from the fesse line, in base three wells, two and one, masoned.* The city is stated to have been first incorpo-

rated in the reign of Richard I.; the charter was confirmed by John, 1206, who made the city a free borough. From 26 Edw. I., Wells has sent members to Parliament.

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

SUSSEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL COLLECTIONS, relating to the History and Antiquities of the County. Published by the Sussex Archæological Society. Vol. VII. London: John Russell Smith. 1854. 8vo.

Among the recent additions to archaeological literature, we have the gratification of noticing another volume of these Collections, in which the Society continue to maintain the reputation which they early achieved. It is pleasant to observe no signs of any diminution of zeal or interest in regard to their county history and antiquities. The list of subscribers, as well as the number and variety of the articles, must be encouraging to those by whose exertions the Society was formed.

Mr. W. D. COOPER has contributed a paper on the retention of British and Saxon names in Sussex. He contends that the Danes never established themselves in the county, and points out how very numerous are the names of places there, which are of Anglo-Saxon origin, and that a few would even seem to have been derived from the British. He also notices the large number of Sussex families whose names are referable to the Anglo-Saxon language. Such surnames, however, are no evidence of descent from Anglo-Saxon ancestors, since there were very few surnames transmitted from father to son till many years after the conquest, and when, subsequently to that event, surnames came to be assumed or attributed from places of abode or birth, or from offices or occupations, an Anglo-Saxon or Saxon-English word was almost as likely to become the patronymic of a Norman as of a Saxon family.

Mr. BLAAUW, the Hon. Secretary of the Society, with his accustomed industry, has furnished four papers. One is on the effigy of Sir David Owen, in Easeborne Church, near Midhurst, with a copy of his will and a codicil. In this we have a more correct description of the effigy than had before been published, and good grounds are shown for accepting it as that of Sir David Owen, the illegitimate son of Owen Tudor, who, by his marriage with Katherine, the widowed queen of Henry V., became the stepfather of Henry VI., and was the grandfather of Henry VII. It had seemed so improbable that a son of this Owen Tudor should have died in 1542, that Nicolas, Baker, and some other genealogists, had supposed a generation had been overlooked, and that Sir David was Owen Tudor's grandson. He had even been mistaken for a son of Henry VIII. Mr. Blaauw has explained this most satisfactorily, by means of the deposition made by Sir David himself as a witness at the time the divorce of Henry VIII. from his Queen Katherine of Arragon was in agitation; which shows that he was born in 1459, about two years before the execution of Owen Tudor, and consequently was only eighty-three years of age at his own death in 1542. The will, a document of considerable length, was found at Cowdray, and was exhibited by Mr. Alexander Brown of the Priory, Easeborne, on the request of Sir D. S. Scott, at the meeting of the Institute at Chichester. Though not the last will of Sir David, it was evidently an original will, which, on his thinking fit to alter the

disposition of his property, had been partially erased and interlined to serve as the draft of another will. It is interesting from the information which it gives respecting his family, and as illustrating the manners of the age. Mr. Blaauw has been at the pains to compare it with the copy of the testator's last will in the Register Book at Doctor's Commons, and has noted the variations. In a paper on the Ornamental Brickwork of a Tower at Laughton Place, built in 1534, with some woodcuts, he invites attention to some remarkable examples of moulded bricks and terra-cotta ornaments remaining in that building. Of one of them, the Pelham buckle, bearing the date of the erection of the tower, the Institute is indebted to Mr. Blaauw for a cast, which is noticed in the eleventh volume of this Journal, and by his permission we are now able to give a woodcut of it.



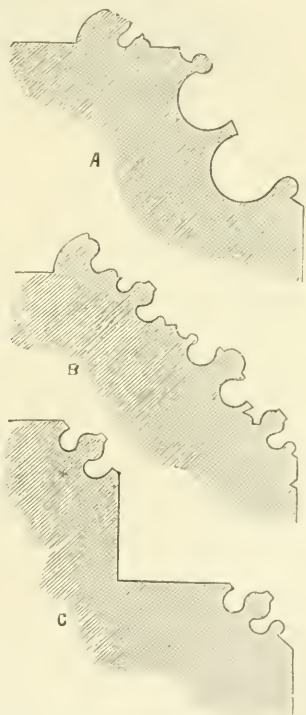
The Pelham Buckle, and Initials of Sir William Pelham, Laughton Place.

(Dimensions of the original, 11½ by 8½ in.)

The Tax-payers of the Borough of Arundel, with extracts from the Subsidy Roll of 1296 and other MSS., form the subject of another paper by him; and there is also one relating to some Sussex Monasteries at the time of their dissolution. This, which is partly derived from original MSS., furnishes some curious particulars respecting the condition of those houses at that time, the conduct of the inmates, and the manner in which they were treated.

From Mr. A. NESBITT we have a contribution on the Remains of an ancient Manor house at Crowhurst, illustrated by a view of the existing

ruins, a plan, and some mouldings ; and to this is subjoined some account of the early history of the manor by Mr. W. S. Walford, which, in conjunction with the style of the architecture, makes it appear probable that the house was built about 1250, by Walter de Scotney, the owner of several manors in Sussex, Kent, and Hants, and also chief steward to Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester ; but having been induced to administer poison to the earl and his brother, William de Clare, of which the latter died, he was tried, condemned and executed for the crime at Winchester in 1259. Even the ruins of domestic buildings of this early date are so rare, that we are glad to avail ourselves of the permission of the Committee of the Sussex Society in regard to the woodcuts to give Mr. Nesbitt's description of the remains of this house with his illustrations. Being near Hastings, these ruins may be known to some of our readers. " They consist—as will be seen by the accompanying ground-plan (see next page)—of portions of a parallelogram measuring internally 40 feet by 23, and of a porch at the south-east angle of the principal building. The parallelogram had a low vaulted ground-floor, lighted by small lancet windows : the whole of the vaulting has fallen, but corbels remain in the angles, and traces of the arches on the walls. No doorway is left, but it was probably in the south wall. The entrance to the room above this vaulted space was most likely also in the south wall ; no part, however, of the walls of the upper room remains, except the gable represented in the woodcut (see next page). The outer door-case of the porch has been destroyed, but the inner exists, and has good early English mouldings (see cut A) ; it had shafts, but these have been removed. The groined vault remains, though the ribs have fallen. Over the porch was a small room, the only access to which was by a door leading from the east end of the large upper room. It will be seen in the woodcut (next page) that a wall is corbelled out across the angle between the porch and the main building, in order to allow of the formation of this doorway. This small room may very possibly have served as a chapel or oratory ; rooms similarly placed, and of about the same dimensions, were clearly used as chapels at Little Wenham Hall, Suffolk, and Old Soar in the parish of Plaxtole, Kent.¹ The large upper room had a handsome two-light window in its east end. The tracery of this window is partly destroyed, but it evidently had two pointed lights with a circle above, all unfoliated. The mouldings of the arch (cut B, p. 3) are rich ; the filleted roll on the outside of the jamb (cut c, p. 3) is rather peculiar ; the shafts have disappeared, but the capitals

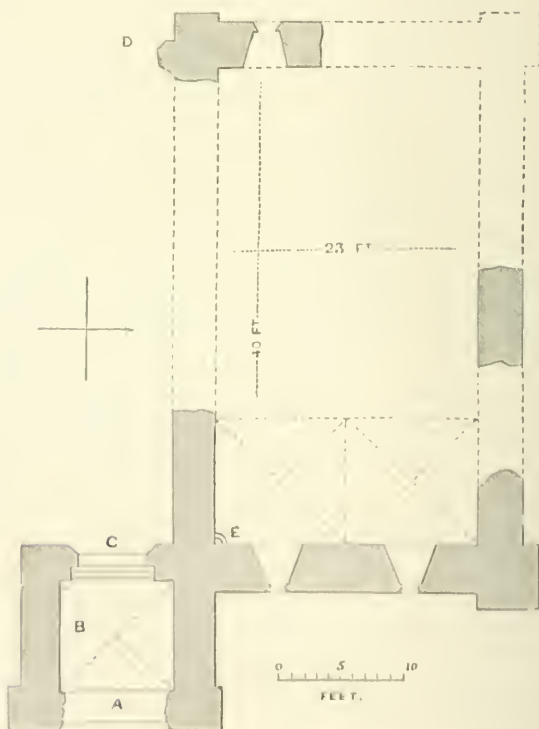


Mouldings of E. window, Manor House, at Crowhurst.

¹ Hudson Turner's *Domestic Architecture in England*, pp. 152, 174.



- A. Outer door
 B. Porch,
 C. Inner door
 D. Jamb,
 E. Corbel.



Ancient Monastery, Cressingham, Surrey.

Date, about A.D. 1250.

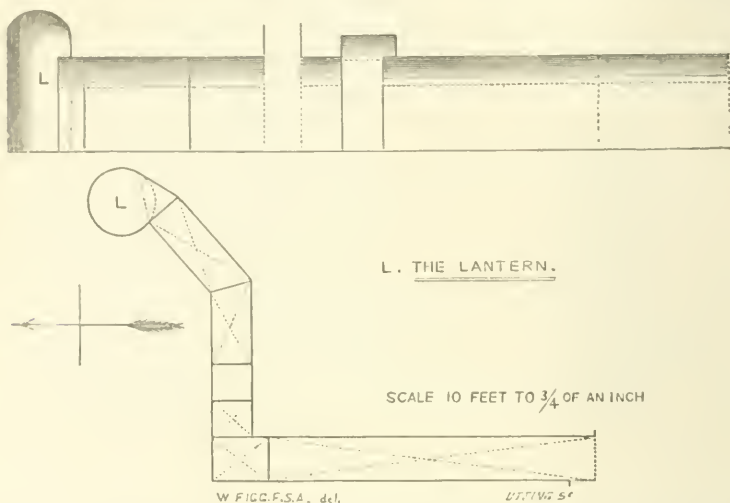
remain, and are sculptured with foliage of the usual early English character of much elegance. As has been said before, no traces remain of the entrance; it probably was in the south wall near the west end, and reached by a flight of external stairs leading from near the porch."

There is a short paper by the REV. P. FREEMAN, suggesting that the "Temple by Chichester," the subject of an etching t. Car. II. copied in vol. v. of these Collections for the purpose of having it identified, may have been the former church of Saint Bartholomew near Chichester, which was taken down many years ago. Another by MR. HILLS, on the stone bearing a Roman inscription found at Chichester in 1723, and now at Goodwood, gives what is considered an amended reading (in type) of the inscription; but the primary object of this notice of the stone is, to correct the prevalent impression that it is Sussex marble, and consequently a proof of the Romans having worked those beds. Mr. Hills states it to be Purbeck, and refers to the difference of the fossils (*Paludina fluviorum* and *P. elongata*) in the two stones in support of his statement.

Mr. M. A. LOWER, to whom these volumes of the Sussex Society have been much indebted, has presented us with "Memorials of the town, parish, and Cinque port of Seaford, historical and antiquarian," with some illustrations. This ancient town and port form a very appropriate subject for a contribution to Sussex history. The spot has yielded evidence of Roman occupation; was a port in Anglo-Saxon times; and after the conquest it was a member of the Cinque ports, and the town became part of the possessions of the Earls of Warenne. But now the town is greatly decayed, and the coast so altered, chiefly from natural causes, that it is no easy matter to discover where the port could have been. Some curious particulars have been brought to light, and the communication throughout bears the impress of Mr. Lower's zeal and industry. It will no doubt be perused with interest, though, seeing the space it occupies, perhaps even Sussex readers may think that, in what relates to the later portion of the history, more selection and even some further retrenchment might have been advantageously employed.

From Mr. FIGG we have a paper on the Lantern in the Cluniae Priory of St. Pancras, Lewes, with plan and sections. It may be unknown to many of our readers, that on the site of this priory is a subterranean passage, leading to a small circular cell hardly five feet in diameter, also underground, which has been generally, if not always, known by the name of the Lantern. It should seem to have been under the area of the cloisters, the entrance to the passage having been in an undercroft of a building adjoining the south cloister. "It is built," Mr. Figg says, "of small pieces of faced chalk, while the passage leading to it is of flints laid in and grouted." The passage is not straight, and at the first angle is a square communication from above, probably, we would suggest, for light and air. By the permission of the Committee we are enabled to give the plan and sections (see next page), which will render the subject more readily intelligible. Mr. Figg shows good reason for believing this small dark circular structure to have been a prison or penitential cell, and adduces instances of the use of the word *Lanterna*, for a place of confinement, from the Cluniae statutes, and of the word *Lantern* in a like sense from the examination of the Lollard preacher, Thorpe, before Archbishop Arundel in 1407. This may furnish a satisfactory explanation of many a subterranean passage in sites of religious houses; to account for which various surmises have passed into traditions, that they led to some neighbouring church or castle.

THE BISHOP OF THE DIOCESE has communicated a letter from Bishop Carlton, describing the reception of the Duke of Monmouth at Chichester, in 1679, derived from a MS. in the Bodleian library. It shows the fearful



state of excitement in which the public mind then was, on the subject of the exclusion of the Duke of York, and the refusal of the King to assemble parliament.

SIR DAVID SIBBALD SCOTT, BART., has contributed a copy of the Book of Orders and Rules established by Anthony Viscount Montague for the better direction and government of his household and family, A.D. 1595, a MS. hitherto unpublished, which is preserved at Easchorne Priory, and was noticed by Sir D. S. Scott in vol. v. of these Collections, p. 187. The original MS. was exhibited by Mr. Alexander Brown of that place in the Museum of the Institute at the Chichester Meeting. It presents a most minute and graphic view of the state, routine, and domestic economy of a nobleman's household at that period, with the prescribed duties of the several officers. To those who are desirous of understanding the manners of the age in these respects, it will well repay an attentive perusal. Few, we think, will read the introductory observations of Sir D. S. Scott without being induced to peruse the Orders and Rules, though at first they may appear little attractive to the general reader. As books of the kind, relating to the household of a subject, are rare, this contribution is the more acceptable.

From Mr. CORNER there is a communication entitled "Grant per cuttellum of William the Second Earl of Warenne." The deed referred to, and introduced in the course of his observations, is a grant by that Earl, with the assent of his Countess Isabel, to the church of St. Andrew, Rochester, of land in Southwark. On which occasion, as the grant was made at a distance from the land, there was a symbolic delivery of the possession by means of a knife. At that time, and even down to our own days, a deed, though almost invariably used, was not necessary for the transfer of land when the grantor was in possession. It might be conveyed by word of mouth and delivery of the possession to the grantee. The deed was important only as evidence of the transaction. Except in very early

times, such delivery took place on the land, a turf or the like being delivered by the grantor to the grantee as a symbol of the land itself ; but in those early times, which would comprise a great part of the XIIth century, a symbolic delivery, by means of some chattel, at a distance from the land, should seem to have sufficed, if the grantee afterwards actually obtained possession in the life-time of the grantor, although without any further authority from him as was in Bracton's time required ; or at least, whatever may have been the legal effect of it, a delivery of this kind at a distance from the land, in addition to the deed, was not uncommon. Hence various quaint things that chanced to be at hand came to be employed ; such as knives, staves, rings, horns, cups, &c. Some of these, which have been preserved as curiosities, are noticed by Mr. Corner. The practice to some extent continues in regard to copyhold land ; which is still transferred by the symbol, commonly, of a rod, though in a few manors something else, as a glove or straw, is used. Needless obscurity has been thrown over such grants as those mentioned by Mr. Corner for want of sufficiently investigating the early usages ; but our limits will not allow us to enter further into the subject.

There is appended to this volume some "Notes and Queries" relating to Sussex matters, and the Report of the Proceedings of the Meeting of the Institute at Chichester.

CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY ; Reports and Communications made to the Society, Nos. I., II., III. and IV. London : G. Bell, Fleet Street ; J. Russell Smith, Soho Square. 8vo.

Fourteen years have elapsed since the foundation of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society ; from unavoidable circumstances it is not a numerous body, but we have gratifying evidence that it is vigorously fulfilling the objects for which it was established. Many of our readers will remember with pleasure the opportunity afforded at the late meeting of the Institute, for the examination of many local antiquities placed by this Society, with the kindest feeling, at the disposal of the Institute to further our object in the formation of the temporary Museum. Whilst no general collection of antiquities exists in the University, more especially as a depository for the numerous vestiges of earlier times which the Fenland country has constantly produced, an important service to archaeology has been rendered by the Cambridge Society, and by those energetic members who have neglected no occasion of securing such reliques, and of thus forming an assemblage of most instructive *indicia* illustrating the ancient condition of that remarkable district.

The Publications of the Society, consisting of Memoirs separately produced from time to time in quarto and octavo, comprise a valuable accession to archaeological literature, although not so generally appreciated, we apprehend, as they deserve. In now directing attention to the labours of this Society, it is not proposed to offer any remarks on the contributions forming their earlier and more important publications, but rather to bring under the notice of our readers the additions recently made to the minor series of their Transactions. The quarto Publications appear at intervals as heretofore, whilst by an arrangement attended with considerable advantage, the shorter Memoirs communicated at the Meetings are now produced in conjunction with the Annual Report. We have now four of

these yearly "Reports and Communications" before us, and propose briefly to invite attention to some of their varied contents.

As a contribution from the evidence supplied by ancient Records, the Rev. E. Venables presents to the Society the results of his examination of the "Nonæ Rolls," so far as they relate to Cambridgeshire. Mr. C. C. Babington supplies a Catalogue of the Tradesmen's Tokens issued in Cambridgeshire in the XVIIth century, describing sixty-two, which belong to the town of Cambridge; and he has received some additional types since this catalogue was published. There are sixty-eight other tokens also described as having been issued in other parts of that county. Such local lists of the tokens of the latter half of the XVIIth century are valuable, and we would direct the attention of all local Societies to the subject. These tokens are becoming rarer every day, and ought to be collected and preserved as useful auxiliaries to the history of the places at which they were issued, as also in connection with genealogical studies. The communications are of very varied character, chiefly, however, illustrative of subjects of local interest. Amongst them the following claim our notice: Some account of a very rare life of St. Radegunde, given by the Rev. C. Hardwick. The life is metrical, and was written by Henry Bradshaw, a Benedictine monk of Chester. Remarks on Church and Parochial Libraries, by the Rev. J. J. Smith. On some Roman Pottery found near Foxton, Cambridgeshire. Mr. C. C. Babington calls attention to this local discovery, which is of much interest, from a very fine Æretine vessel forming part of it. During the Institute's Meeting at Cambridge we had the pleasure of seeing the fragments of this vessel, which have been carefully united together, so as to convey a good idea of its original state. We were pleased to find that the foot had been recovered since the plate appended to this paper was issued. We may next mention a letter addressed by St. John's College to the Countess of Shrewsbury concerning the building of a library adjoining the fine court of that college, which had been erected at her expense. Mr. C. C. Babington gives a short memoir on some antiquities found in Corpus Christi College. A portion of a curious and perhaps unique tract, entitled "The General Pardon," by W. Hayward, imprinted at London, by W. How, for W. Pickeringe, was found at that time. It is much to be desired that a perfect copy of this tract, printed about 1571, could be obtained. We may also mention as discovered at the same time and place some curious shoes and clogs belonging to the reign of Elizabeth, of which a plate is given. These curious and possibly unique examples of the ingenuity of the "gentle craft" in mediæval times were placed in our Museum at the Cambridge Meeting. Mr. C. H. Newmarch shows, in his Notes on some Roman buildings at Cirencester, that the floors of many of them had been raised after the internal decorations were completed, on account of the prevalence of floods at that place. There is a curious paper on the Orientation of King's College Chapel, by Mr. Rigg. The exact direction of the chapel was obtained from some observations made for a scientific purpose by the celebrated mathematician Mr. J. C. Adams. After discussing the subject, Mr. Rigg arrives at the conclusion that this edifice is a complete exception to the rules of orientation laid down by the advocates of that theory. Notes inserted in a copy of Edward VIth's first Prayer Book, furnish some points of interest. One of them is an entry to the effect that originally the tithes upon houses in London were paid by "a halfpenny for each pounde rent of the house which the inhabitants offered to the parson upon every Sunday and Holy

day, of which there were sometymes so many, that the tythes amounted to 3s. 3d. upon the pound. This course was altered by ye decree, and brought down to 2s. 9d.” Mr. C. H. Cooper communicates some curious facts and documents concerning the Vow of Widowhood. The same antiquary furnishes a copy of a Letter from Oliver Cromwell to his sister, and has added some curious notes. The next contribution is one of interest, especially to the student of Academic history. It is a form of Petition addressed to Henry V., about the year 1415, in vindication of some ancient usages of the University of Cambridge. The Rev. C. Hardwick, who supplies this document, has added many valuable notes. The last paper that we shall notice consists of a collection of Letters of Roger Ascham, communicated by and copiously illustrated with notes Mr. J. E. B. Mayor.

In conclusion we may express regret that the well directed efforts of this Society should not have received the more ample encouragement and support to which they are entitled. We heartily desire that the claims of National Antiquities may henceforth be appreciated with increasing interest in the University, which presents so important a field of investigation.

Archæological Intelligence.

Mr. PHILIP DELAMOTTE, one of our most skilful photographers, announces for immediate publication (by subscription) a “Photographic Tour among the Abbeys of Yorkshire,” with notices by Mr. Walbran. The volume, comprising twenty-four large views, will be produced by Messrs Bell & Daldy, 186, Fleet-street.

Several valuable publications have recently been produced by the SURTEES SOCIETY; amongst these may be mentioned the Pontifical of Egbert, Archbishop of York, 732—766, from a MS. in the Imperial Library, Paris; the Lindisfarne and Rushworth Gospels, edited by the Rev. Joseph Stephenson, from MSS. in the British Museum and the Bodleian; and the Wills with Inventories preserved in the Registry at Richmond, Yorkshire, produced under the care of the Rev. J. Raine, jun. The Society claims the liberality of antiquaries towards the achievement of a fresh undertaking to which their resources are unequal; it is calculated to throw an important light upon the history of the Palatinate of Durham, as well as upon national customs and manners. It is the publication of Bishop Hatfield’s Survey, in the fourteenth century, which will form a valuable sequel to the Boldon Buke, compiled in 1183, and already published by the Surtees Society, whose labours well deserve to be more generally appreciated. Those who take interest in this object are requested to communicate with the Rev. James Raine, jun., Newcastle.

SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND.—At the meeting on Jan. 15, Mr. Cosmo Innes produced the “Black Book of Breadalbane,” preserved at Taymouth, and gave an account of the curious memorials, relating to the family and their possessions, recorded in it: it contains also several portraits, and notices of the paintings executed by direction of Sir Colin Campbell, in the earlier part of the XVIIth century, by a German painter and the celebrated George Jamesone, some of whose best works still exist at Taymouth. Mr. Chambers read notes on a box presented by Alexander Pope, the poet, to his namesake and supposed relation, a minister in Caithnessshire. Mr. Robertson read some original notices from the Rotuli

Seacearii relating to Barbour, author of "the Bruce;" and Mr. Scott gave an account of a silver reliquary found at Dundee.—February 12. The Rev. T. M'Lauchlan read a memoir on a collection of Gaelic Poems and Historical fragments preserved in a MS. in the Advocate's Library, known as "The Dean of Lismore's Book," the oldest known specimen of written Scottish Gaelic. Dr. Scott read a notice of the ancient die of a Scottish coin, lately presented to the museum. Mr. Brodie gave some remarks on clay Dagobas, bearing Sanscrit stamps from Ceylon; and Mr. Petrie read a Description of Antiquities in Orkney recently examined, comprising a large burg or round tower, with concealed cells and passages, various remains found in the tumuli near the Standing Stones of Steenis, and in another barrow at Papa-Westray, apparently a family sepulchre; also further observations on the Pict's House at that place, excavated by Lieut. Thomas, R.N. Traces of incised figures have been perceived, resembling those on the stones forming the sepulchral chamber at New Grange, in Ireland.—March 12. Mr. Jarvise communicated an account of sites in Forfarshire where antiquities had been found, presented by him to the Society. Dr. Wise gave a notice on the Fort of Barry Hill, Forfarshire, now destroyed. Mr. Rhind sent a Memoir on Roman Swords, asserting his opinion that the bronze leaf-shaped swords are not of the Roman age. The Rev. Dr. Chalmers gave an account of a stone coffin found at Dunfermline Abbey, containing a corpse wrapped in leather; and Dr. Scott contributed notices of Impressions from Seals, chiefly of the Eglinton family.

We have the gratification of stating that the Master and Fellows of Pembroke College have liberally permitted Mr. Ready to make copies of the seals preserved amongst their muniments, and he is engaged in that rich depository. Amongst Mr. Ready's most recent acquisitions may be mentioned a fine impression from the seal of Anne of Bohemia, queen of Richard II., and a remarkably perfect seal of that king; a portion of the curious seal of Hubert de Burgh, chief justice in the time of Henry III.; and the beautiful seal of John Lord Bardolf, 19 Edward III. Mr. Ready has also received a large collection of German seals, including nearly a complete series of those of the emperors from a very early period, commencing with Charlemagne. They may be obtained on application to Mr. Ready, 2, St. Botolph's Lane, Cambridge.

The ANNUAL MEETING of the Institute will be held at Shrewsbury, under the patronage of the Viscount Hill, Lord Lieutenant of Shropshire. Announcement of the arrangements will shortly be issued.

Note to page 75.

Since the preceding sheets were printed, a further and more direct proof of Godfrey de la Rokele having been in the service of William de Bohun Earl of Northampton, who, we have seen, was lord of the manor of Wykes, has been found in *Madox Formulæ Anglicanum*, p. 349. It is a power of attorney by the Earl authorising his dear and well beloved Godfrey de la Rokele to deliver seisin of certain lands at Downham that had been given by the Earl in exchange, and to accept seisin of others, which had been taken in lieu of them. The instrument is in French, and was under the seal of the Earl, and dated at Ramsden Belhouse, on the 6th of June, in the 33rd Edw. III., (1359), which was within thirteen years after the probable date of the letter addressed to Dame Alys de la Rokele. Downham and Ramsden Belhouse are adjoining parishes in Essex, and the business to be transacted under the power of attorney was, it will be observed, such as was likely to be committed to the Earl's steward.

The Archaeological Journal.

JUNE, 1855.

NOTICES OF CERTAIN SHAFTS, CONTAINING REMAINS OF THE ROMAN PERIOD, DISCOVERED AT THE ROMAN STATION AT CHESTERFORD, ESSEX.

BY THE HON. RICHARD C. NEVILLE, F.S.A., VICE-PRESIDENT.

SOON after the commencement of my excavations at Chesterford, in 1845, I became acquainted with a remarkable feature in the vestiges of Roman occupation, to which my attention was especially directed by the discovery of its existence in another part of the country about the same time. I allude to the deep pits or shafts from which Dr. Diamond obtained pottery of various kinds and other Roman remains, in the vicinity of Ewell, in Surrey.¹ Though frequent mention has been made by antiquaries of large holes filled with black mould and débris, on various ancient sites, they have usually been indiscriminately termed rubbish pits ; but I am not aware that, with the exception of the investigation by the gentleman above named, any steps have been taken to elucidate the penetralia of these mysterious repositories. From their close contiguity to each other, their shape, diameter, depth, and the nature of their contents, they are certainly not to be included in any such general designation, whatever their appropriation may have been. With the hope of establishing this, though scarcely of assigning to them their proper purpose, I shall enumerate the various peculiarities which have come under my observation, leaving to others to form their opinion from the evidence

¹ See Dr. Diamond's account of this discovery, which occurred about November, 1847. *Archæologia*, vol. xxxii. p. 451.

I may lay before them. In the course of my labours, I have examined more than forty of these holes, and I therefore approach the subject with some degree of confidence.

In order to enable my readers to understand more clearly the meaning of the term circular shafts or holes, in my acceptation of it, I shall, before entering further into the subject, briefly define their character according to my experience. Their existence is easily ascertained in trenching the ground, by the particular looseness of the soil in them, which too, on being struck at the surface with the wooden handle of the mattock, emits a hollow sound in proportion as the shaft below is more or less deep. In shape they are generally round, if not completely cylindrical, and from the moment they begin to descend their form becomes distinct, for at the mouth it is sometimes irregular. Their course is easily followed through the undisturbed natural soil which, when of chalk or gravel as at Chesterford, serves the same purpose as the steaming of a well, and affords security to the workman in clearing them out. Their diameter varies from 4 to 7 feet, the major part average 4 feet, continuing the same size as they descend, but some contract gradually towards the bottom; they have terminated almost in a point in one or two instances; and in as many their diameter all the way down has not exceeded a yard. Their depth is more capricious in the higher parts of the Borough, as it is termed at Chesterford, for although some there, as well as in the lower ground, do not run down lower than 5, 7, 10, or 11 feet, many reach more than 12 feet, and they have been dug as deep as 16, 18, 22, and 28 feet. In the lower parts 11 feet is the maximum they have attained, in fact they could not exceed it without reaching the water, and they range from 6 to 8 feet. Four feet is the minimum in any site. In only two instances, once in the higher, and once in the lower ground, have they terminated in water. Their bottoms are usually dry. These holes are confined to no particular portion of the Station, having occurred as often without as inside the walls, and very frequently within a few feet of one another. Groups of three or four together are not uncommon, and in the rectory grounds, in December, 1853, and in the spring of the present year, so many as fifteen were excavated in less than half an acre of ground. When they are more than 12 feet, a rope and basket, such as well-diggers use, are

required to empty them; their examination is therefore attended with considerable labour, and is often a tedious operation. I mention this in order to account for the difficulty experienced in getting out vessels of glass or pottery without injury, lying as they do in such a confined space and immediately beneath the feet of the workman. At Ewell, if I recollect rightly, a railway cutting afforded the opportunity of obtaining a vertical section of the shafts, exposing their contents to view *in situ*, and their course was distinctly marked by the contrast of the dark soil in them with the chalk of the locality. At Chesterford a similar advantage was offered only in the gravel pit belonging to the parish, where the gravel, which is very near the surface, runs deep, and presents a sort of cliff as it recedes before the stone-diggers; in this the black veins stand out in equally strong relief with those in Surrey. Two or three of them in this locality I shall have to notice especially, when I review the objects discovered in these holes. These relics are the next and most important part of the subject under consideration, and they are so numerous and vary so much as to baffle all rules in describing. Pottery entire, as well as broken, bones of animals, chiefly of bullocks, and oyster-shells, are the most general features of their contents, while some holes have been found destitute of any such remains. I shall therefore commence with the most remarkable shafts I first examined, including those in the parish work which have come under my notice, and proceed in order of time, specifying the dimensions, contents, and their position in the ground as my notes serve me, while of those last excavated I have kept a regular journal during the progress of the labourers.

By this arrangement I revert to the autumn of 1845, when I first began to dig at Chesterford, in a field within the station walls, and next to the parish gravel-pit. The first of the circular holes I opened here did not run deep, but it contained the curious terra-cotta *thuribulum* engraved in my "Antiqua Explorata," and in the fifth volume of this Journal, page 236. When found it was in pieces which all lay together; from the same hole a second brass coin of Vespasian, an iron stylus, and a bone pin were taken. The two next were also shallow, the deepest being ten feet; in it was found a large stone-coloured *olla*, which, together

with a large fine red *amphora* from the third hole, is figured in both the works referred to. These vessels were both in fragments, and had to be restored ; the bones of fowls were found in the *olla* for the first time in these pits, and those of bullocks occurred in all three. The next deep hole contained, near the bottom, a bone knife-handle—a carved figure of Hercules with his club. Of this a representation is here given. A deeper shaft excavated soon after reached 22 feet, proving the most prolific of those hitherto examined. Many bones of oxen and four fictile vessels were found in it ; a large black saucer, a red basin of fine ware, not Samian, with



Bone knife handle
found at Chesterford,
Essex.

a pair of tall black *cylices* or drinking cups, with indented sides. All four vessels were entire when discovered, but the basin and one of the cups were slightly injured by the pick ; the saucer lay highest in the hole, the basin near the middle, the cups at the bottom. About this time a small basin of plain red Samian ware, with a potter's name, VICTORI M, was brought to me by a parish workman from one of these shafts in the gravel pit. Later in the same year, in a small enclosure behind some cottages, still within the Borough walls, I examined two more round pits ; of these I have no particular record beyond the fact, that a pair of bronze tweezers with an ear-pick was taken from one, and a silver denarius of Saloninus from the other, but I remember many fragments of pottery and animals' bones in both. After an interval of a year and a half, I again met with similar shafts, and on the 9th of July, 1847, a very deep one was opened in a field rather more than a

quarter of a mile outside the walls ; down to 8 feet, two small brass coins of Claudius Gothicus, some bullocks' bones, limpet and oyster shells, were all that were found ; at that depth, however, appeared a fine bronze comb with a double row of teeth (an object of very rare occurrence, formed of metal) ; from 8 to 18 feet, only pottery in fragments, parts of a human skull, a bronze pin, and a plated denarius of Constantine ; but at 20 feet lay a bronze patera, or ladle, with traces of gilding upon it ; of the comb and ladle repre-

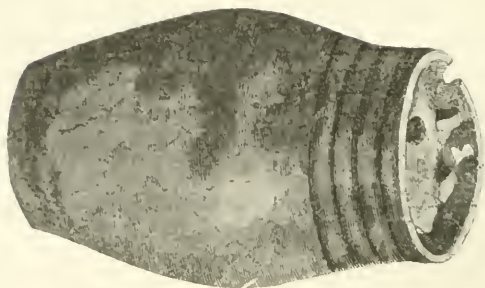
sentations are given (see woodcuts, next page).² Between 20 and 28 feet, at the bottom of the hole, broken pottery and bones of animals were plentiful, and at last water appeared ; I must observe that it is probable the anxiety of my labourers to fathom the real depth, caused them to penetrate beyond it and strike a spring. Three vessels, a miniature tun,³ (see woodcut) a basin of black glazed ware, resembling that found near Upchurch, in Kent, and a common vase, were restored from the broken pieces in this shaft. In the September following, I explored several more pits just within the wall of the station and close to one another. The deepest did not exceed 18 feet, but they averaged from 12 to 15 feet. Bones of bullocks were found in all, one contained the heads of two ravens and a cock, some the bones of dogs, some, oyster-shells ; from one, a roof coping tile, without any traces of mortar on it, was taken ; this again occurred subsequently in another place. In one were found three perfect drinking cups with indented sides ; in another, a bottle of pottery and a small basin of plain Samian ware ; these, with a second bone knife-handle curiously carved, are the principal objects of interest from the holes on this site. Later in the same autumn I was summoned to inspect a deep shaft in the parish gravel-pit, from which two vessels of fictile ware had been obtained, and along with them, near the bottom, the débris of a beautiful green glass vase. I took away the fragments, which have been skilfully restored, and may now be seen in my collection in the shape of a modern claret jug (See the accompanying representation from a drawing by Mr. Youngman).⁴ The other two vessels were, I think, presented by the Rev. C. Sparkes, then curate of Chesterford, to the Cambridge Antiquarian Society. In the spring of 1848, a

² See "Sepulchra Exposita," by the Hon. R. C. Neville, pp. 73, 74.

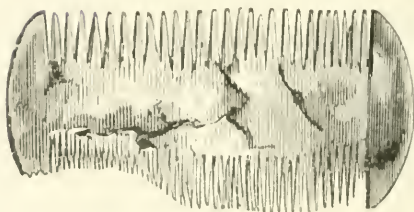
³ A diminutive tun of fictile ware occurred amongst the numerous reliques of Roman pottery found in the *Ustrinum* at Litlington, and now at Clare Hall, Cambridge. *Archæologia*, vol. xxvi. pl. 45. There is another in the British Museum. The Abbé Cochet has discovered numerous *barillets* of glass in Roman tombs in France. See his *Normandie Souterraine*, pp. 82, 93, &c., 2nd Edit. A curious Memoir by Dr. Braun on the cask or tun,

as connected with ancient sepulchral remains, is given in the *Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande*, No. XVIII. p. 145. Bonn, 1852.

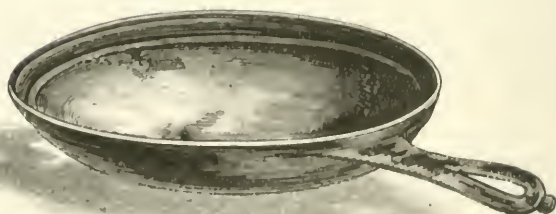
⁴ Vessels of glass, of this description, have very rarely been found amongst Roman remains in this country. Compare one discovered in one of the Bartlow Barrows. *Archæologia*, vol. xxv. pl. 2, and another found at Shefford, Bedfordshire ; *Journal of Brit. Arch. Assoc.* vol. i. p. 52.



Length of the original, 4 in., diam. 2½ in.

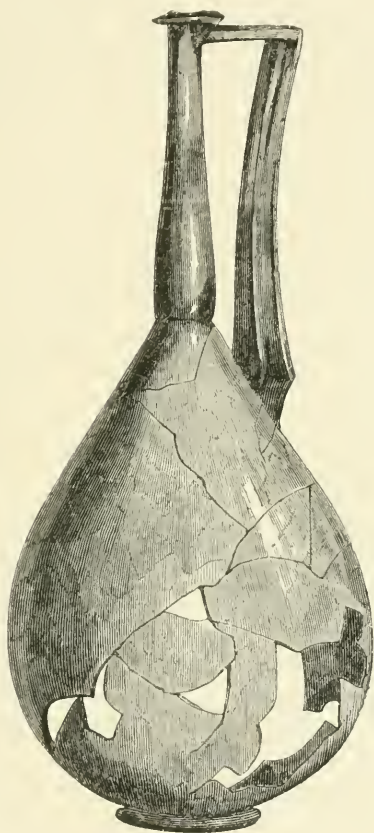


Length of the original, 4½ in., breadth, 2 in.



Small. Type of Red Ware, Bronze Coin, and Silver.

Found in a shaft excavated by the Hon. R. C. Neville, in 1817. Now preserved in his Museum at Audley End.



Ampulla, or Bottle, of Green Glass.

Found in excavations made by the Hon. R. C. Neville, in September, 1847, now preserved in his Museum at Audley End.

Height of the original, 13 inches.

hole was excavated at the north end of the interior of the wall; this was only 10 feet deep, and is remarkable as having contained a flat Samian ware dish, in fragments, of which the first pieces were found just beneath the surface, and more appeared at intervals, until the entire dish was put together at the edge of the pit, except one piece which lay quite at the bottom. The greater part of the small Samian basin found with the bottle in 1847, lay near the top, while a moiety was taken from the lower end of the shaft, which was a deep one; a similar instance occurred in 1853, when there was again an interval of several feet between one fragment and the remainder of a vessel. These appear to be significant facts as regards the purpose and formation of the circular pits, to which may be added the remark that many of their contents, bones, and especially iron and coins, when they are found, bear marks of having passed through the fire. In November, 1848, close to the Roman building at Chesterford, on the site of Stukeley's "Templi Umbra," as many as three Samian ware vessels were taken from one hole; while, besides pottery from others, two bronze finger rings were discovered in the same pit. Both these have been set with blue paste, and are figured in the sixth volume of this Journal, page 18, together with one of the Samian dishes, which has an ivy-leaf pattern, page 16; it bears therefore, as usual in embossed ware of this kind, no potter's mark.

A period of five years, during which little was done at Chesterford, brings me down to November, 1853, when my excavations were renewed, by the kind permission of the Rev. Lord Charles Hervey, in the rectory grounds. The site examined lies between the west wall of the churchyard and the southern one of the Roman station. The following catalogue will best show the number of holes opened here, and the interesting nature of their contents, which, in more than one instance, would constitute a remarkable find in themselves.

December 21, 1853. Shaft 1. Depth, 9 feet 6 inches. Contents:—Fragments of all kinds of fictilia in abundance, amongst them the bottom of a Samian ware vessel, with a potter's mark, DVOCIS. About 8 feet deep, a perfect *cylis* of black ware, with indented sides; this was broken by the pick, but has been restored, except the rim. At 2 feet from

the surface, a silver denarius of Septimius Severus was found, with the reverse—INDULGENTIA AUGG IN CARTH; Cybele seated on a lion. This type is the subject of a fine intaglio on cornelian found by the late M. Honneger, Consul at Tunis, in his excavations, and now in my Dactylotheca, reset in a ring. *December 23.* Shaft 2. Depth, 7 feet. Contents:—Many bones of bullocks and broken vases. Two coping roof tiles, as in a former hole; at 4 feet, a perfect black *cylix*, with indented sides, lying horizontally in the side of the shaft; at the same depth, a short and very thick bone pin, with round head; at 5 feet the soil changed from a black mould to a light grey, apparently ashes of wood; at the bottom, a second bone pin, the fac-simile of the first, with a quantity of bones of fowls, and two of their legs apparently mummied and perfectly preserved. In its descent through the natural soil, the sides of this pit had been clearly defined and solid; at its termination, the workmen broke through in one corner into another shaft of a similar nature, which, upon examination, was found to have been sunk within a yard of the mouth, and run down parallel to, but deeper than its neighbour. *December 27.* Shaft 3. Depth, 10 feet. Contents:—Bones of bullocks and oyster-shells in abundance at 8 feet; about the same depth, a bone needle; a perfect small vessel of light-coloured ware, resembling those found with the bones of infants, and figured in the tenth volume of this Journal, page 21, lay at the bottom. This hole was so close to the preceding one, that when emptied of their contents, they presented the singular appearance of two open wells, side by side, but distinct in their shafts excepting at their bottoms, which were both dry. *December 29.* Shaft 4, near to the two last. Depth, 10 feet. Contents:—Animals' bones and shards of pottery, amongst them half the bottom and several pieces of a fine embossed Samian ware bowl.

January 9, 1854. Shaft 5. Depth, 5 feet 6 inches. Contents:—More than ninety implements, tires of wheels and objects of iron altogether. These are so numerous, in such good preservation, and they comprehend so many objects novel and of interest, that any attempt to describe them would far exceed the limits of a paper not exclusively devoted to the subject, while it interrupted the one before us. I hope, therefore, in a future number of the Journal, to do justice to this remarkable discovery, when the beautiful

drawings made by Mr. Youngman, of Saffron Walden, will facilitate the illustration of the most curious articles.

January 12. Shaft 6. Depth, 14 feet. Contents :—Bones of bullocks and of one dog ; at 11 feet a perfect pottery bottle, similar in shape to that from another of these shafts in 1847. Soon after, all the pieces of a Samian dish, old fractures, since restored. It has the potter's name, ALBVCI. M. Portions of embossed Samian bowls, oyster-shells ; at 12 feet, a perfect black urn, of good ware ; at 13 feet, two dishes of plain Samian ware, one entire, the other broken by the pick, since restored ; both have makers' names ; at 14 feet, two black basins, one of them not quite whole, making in all seven vessels of fictile ware from one shaft. *January 16.* Shaft 7. Depth, 12 feet. Contents :—Fragments of thick black ware, embossed, and plain Samian ; at 6 feet, a second brass coin of Trajan, in good condition, injured slightly by fire ; at 9 feet 6 inches, all the fragments of a black basin, since restored ; and at 12 feet, nearly all those of a plain Samian ware dish, with potter's stamp. *January 18.* Shaft 8 (this was within 8 feet of the preceding one). Depth, 8 feet 6 inches. Contents :—At 3 feet, a bronze *ligula*, similar to those from the Roman houses at Ashdon and Bartlow (see Volume X. of this Journal, page 16). Nothing more was found in this hole. *January 20.* Shaft 9. Depth 12 feet. Contents :—At 11 feet, two plain Samian ware saucers, one entire, the other in fragments, old fractures since restored ; the first has a potter's stamp—SILVANI. O., the second has the ivy-leaf pattern on the rim, and, as is usually the case, there is no name impressed on the ware ; at 12 feet, three vessels of dark ware, two of them black basins, perfect when found, the third in pieces, all of which were obtained and reunited, making in all five vessels of pottery from this shaft. *January 24.* Shaft 10. Depth, 16 feet. Contents :—Fragments of pottery ; at 15 feet, a perfect urn of the glossy black ware, like those found at Upchurch, as in a former instance in one of these pits.

January 27. Shaft 11. Depth, 6 feet 11 inches. Contents. Broken vessels and bones of animals, among them three very large bones of a horse, one being a deformed tibia. At 10 feet, the lower half of a dark urn of thin ware containing a quantity of bones of some small bird. The

upper half of this vessel had been broken of old, but none of the fragments were to be found in the shaft.

February 2. Shaft 12. Depth, 8 feet 10 inches. This is the first pit on the site which has been entirely unproductive ; not even a bit of pottery appeared in the soil. *February 15.* Shaft 13. Depth, 7 feet. Contents :—Half a saucer of light-coloured ware with a flat bottom. This hole was in the shrubbery of the Rectory, on the north of the ground containing the others, bordering on the Cambridge high road. *February 23.* Shaft 14. Depth, 8 feet. Close outside the churchyard wall, and almost under a large elm : the roots had struck down in the loose soil of the shaft, and so impeded the pick of the workmen that three vessels, which were lying perfect at a depth of 5 feet, were much broken. They are all of Castor ware, and on being restored prove to be two *cylices* with indented sides ; one red, one of slate colour, while the third is a black and red *poculum*. This as also the red *cylix* has a pattern on it, one in relief, the other in white paint. Great numbers of oyster-shells and bullocks' bones were found at 6 feet, as well as a miniature axe head of iron, 3 inches long, with a portion of the handle, which is slight and also of iron, broken in the socket. In the 2 feet below nothing more occurred. *February 27.* Shaft 15. Depth, 18 feet. Very near the preceding one. The excavation of this occupied three days. Contents :—At 5 feet a quantity of fragments of pottery began to appear ; at 6 feet a small Samian basin of plain ware lay broken of old, but since restored ; it has a potter's stamp—SACHR. F. ; a piece of a fine embossed bowl, and numerous bits of vessels with bronze pins, and two of bone with a round hole through each, occurred at 10 feet : a little lower, oyster-shells, bullocks' bones, and red mortar formed with pounded tile. Between 14 and 15 feet no pottery was found, and the soil changed from a dark mould to fine sifted sand, but the black earth reappeared soon with a few shards of fictilia, and continued to 18 feet, when the water rose from the gravel bottom. This is the second instance in which these pits have reached the water. There were also taken from this pit a black urn, which had been deposited horizontally in the side of the shaft, entire, but was fractured by the pick, and another broken Samian vessel which was restored : the fractures old.

March 3. Shaft 16. Depth, 4 feet. Contents :—A very

few pieces of pottery. Possibly only the commencement of a pit. *March 4.* Shaft 17. Depth, 5 feet. Contents :—The same as its neighbour. This was the last of the shafts discovered in the Rectory grounds. *March 7.* Shaft 18. In a field, the property of R. Fisher, Esq., about 100 yards outside the northern face of the Borough walls, the foundations of which are still to be traced crossing the enclosure from east to west parallel to the Borough ditch. Depth, 5 feet 4 inches. Contents :—Fragments of black, and some embossed Samian ware. At 4 feet, all the pieces of a plain Samian basin, except one, which lay at the bottom : it has been restored, and has a potter's stamp—ACAPA. F. At the same depth the bones of a dog. *March 24.* Shaft 19. In the same field. Depth, 11 feet. Contents :—At 4 feet, a perfect black urn : at 9 feet, all the bones of a dog, but no more pottery.

August 26. Shaft 20. Excavations recommenced on the same site. Depth, 5 feet 4 inches. Contents :—All the fragments of a black dish, of old fracture, since restored ; and a piece of a fine embossed Samian bowl.

October 3. Shaft 21. On the same site. Depth, 7 feet 9 inches. Contents :—Broken pottery of no importance. *October 5.* Shaft 22. Depth, 8 feet. Contents :—At 4 feet 6 inches, an elegant black pitcher in fragments, since restored : many bones of bullocks and bits of vases ; and at 7 feet a bottle of dark ware, the handle lost ; this was in halves when found. *October 9.* Shaft 23. Depth, 7 feet. Contents :—Near the top, a silver denarius of Elagabalus, much burnt ; at 2 feet 5 inches, plated coins of Allectus, one of Carausius and one of Maximianus with an incuse reverse, all in good preservation ; a large square iron nail $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches long. At 5 feet, a square green glass bottle with a reeded handle, nearly entire when found, but broken by the pick : almost all is restored. At the bottom a bone pin and a large brass coin of Trajan, a little burnt. *October 9.* Shaft 24. Depth, 8 feet. Contents :—At 4 feet 4 inches, all the fragments of a red Castor ware *cylix* with indented sides ; an old fracture. *October 10.* Shaft 25. Depth, 8 feet. Contents :—A third brass coin of Constantius, near the top ; fragments of embossed and other pottery, and a silver denarius of Faustina Senior, near the bottom. *October 11.* Shaft 26. Depth, 8 feet. Contents :—A piece of iron chain

12 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, with 26 links ; an iron knife at 6 feet 6 inches, and a fragment of the upper part of a black basin, apparently of Upchurch ware, inscribed in capitals scratched below the rim—*VARRIATVS*. *October* 13. Shaft 27. Depth, 6 feet. Contents :—Bones of a dog. The greater part of a cup of red Castor ware, and some other fragments, at 4 feet. This pit was larger than ordinary, being between 6 and 7 feet in diameter. Shaft 28. Depth, 5 feet 7 inches. Contents :—Some bits of fictilia. *October* 14. Shaft 29. Depth, 6 feet 6 inches. Contents :—Bones of bullocks and broken vases. *October* 17. Shaft 30. Depth, 5 feet 6 inches. Contents :—A bronze stylus only, with circular flat top for erasing. *October* 18. Shaft 31. Depth, 4 feet. Contents :—Bones of bullocks. *October* 20. Shaft 32. Depth, 6 feet 6 inches. Contents :—At 1 foot 6 inches, a long metal pin strongly plated : a few fragments of pottery.

November 18. Shaft 33. Depth, 5 feet. Contents :—At 3 feet, many pieces of two *pocula* of Castor ware. This hole was on a different site, being under the lawn in front of the house formerly the Crown Inn at Chesterford, on the north side of the Cambridge road, but still within the Borough walls. Its diameter being only 3 feet it was with difficulty cleared. *November* 28. Shaft 34. Depth, 8 feet 8 inches. Contents :—An iron *falx*, or small pruning knife, with socket for a handle. On the same site, as are all that follow. *November* 29. Shaft 35. Depth, 5 feet 6 inches. Contents :—2 bone pins, a pair of bronze tweezers, and a swallow-tailed picker, fitting between them, attached to a bronze-hinged loop for fitting on a ring.

December 22. Shaft 36. Depth, 5 feet 6 inches. Contents :—Many fragments of pottery ; a large black basin of thick smooth ware, entire when found, but broken by the pick : since restored. Shaft 37. Depth, 5 feet 4 inches. Contents :—Broken pottery, and from near the bottom a slight bronze stylus with circular flat top for erasing. *December* 23. Shaft 38. Depth, 10 feet. Contents :—At 6 feet, two short thick bone pins, many pieces of a Castor ware *cylia*, a *tessera*, as it appears, of some marble, 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ inch long by 1 inch across, and $\frac{1}{5}$ of an inch thick, without any traces of mortar. At the bottom, the greatest

part of a black *cylix*, with indented sides, in pieces. *December 30.* Shaft 38. Depth, 17 feet 3 inches. Contents :—Many bones of dogs and some of bullocks ; parts of the same animal appeared at 11, and again, at 14 feet ; several bits of a plain Samian ware basin entirely blackened by fire, a few pieces of thick black pottery, and two of a dish with ivy-leaf pattern at between 11 and 14 feet ; at 13 feet 6 inches, four fragments of a fine embossed Samian bowl, which, united, made three parts of the vessel, and at 16 feet 2 inches, the missing portion in one large piece, enabling me to restore a perfect and beautiful specimen of these rare fictilia. When complete it measures 9 inches diameter at top, and 5 inches in height. The subject upon the ware is a series of lions large and small in two rows ; they are at full speed, and here and there a hare is represented squatting singly among them ; the smaller lions are on the lower row *dos-à-dos* in pairs, and run opposite ways. There is no trace of the potter's name in the pattern or any other part of the basin. Full 2 feet 6 inches of soil intervened between the first 4 pieces and the last ; at the bottom of the hole were the fragments of a large black urn : two bone pins occurred at 10 feet, some oyster-shells, and eight or ten large pebble paving stones were found singly at intervals. The excavation of this hole occupied three days.

January 3, 1855. Shaft 39. Less than 10 feet from No. 38. Depth, 13 feet. Contents :—Nothing entire or complete ; full three parts of a plain Samian dish near the bottom ; bones of animals very numerous, with marks of burning ; as in the other holes there were many of dogs, which were sacred to Proserpine.⁵ *January 5.* Shaft 40. Four feet from 39. Depth, 20 feet 2 inches. Contents :—A good many pieces of pottery, chiefly black ware ; bones of animals in profusion, among them two very large jaw bones of an ox ; all the bones much burnt and the soil full of ash ; at 18 feet 6 inches, a perfect small black urn without any contents. *January 8.* Shaft 41. Depth, 12 feet 8 inches. Contents :—A bone pin, bones of bullocks, broken pottery, a potter's name—CEREALIS. M. ; at 10 feet, a dark coloured urn fractured by the pick. *January 9.* Shaft 42. Depth, 5 feet 4 inches. Contents :—Broken pottery and

⁵ Visæque canes ululare per umbras
Adventante Dea.

Virgil, 6th *Æneid.* l. 257.

bullocks' bones. Another hole was found 9 inches from the margin. *January* 11. Shaft 43. Depth, 21 feet 3 inches. Contents :—Pottery in fragments, dark and plain Samian ware, bones of bullocks and dogs, the skull of one of the latter, a large square lump of tufa ; at 15 feet, a small white *mortarium*, and a black urn ; the last was broken by the pick ; at 16 and 19 feet, a black basin in pieces ; at 20 and 21, three large and entire urns of smooth black ware ; and quite at the bottom, a small plain Samian ware basin with potter's name—MACCIVS. F. Some mussel shells occurred, and the bones of oxen were scattered in fragments all through this shaft ; scarcely six inches of soil without some bits of them. *January* 13. Shaft 44. Depth, 16 feet. Contents :—Bones of bullocks, and a very few pieces of pottery. At 6 feet 6 inches a large brass coin, so much burnt as to be illegible, apparently a Commodus ; among the bits of pottery two makers' names, one,—CARETI. M., the other—MINAIT. *January* 16. Shaft 45. Depth, 10 feet 9 inches. Contents :—At 3 feet, a very perfect iron *fala*, semicircular, but without handle ; at 8 feet 9 inches, a large white saucer of thick ware ; at 10 feet 7 inches, a perfect black urn.

The close of this catalogue affords an opportunity of introducing the following account, which seems to relate to these pits, and is taken from Cole's manuscripts in the British Museum. He says :—"Mr. Ashby, fellow of St. John's, calling on me this morning, December 18, 1769, gave me the following account of some antiquities lately discovered at Chesterford, digging away the old Roman fortifications in order to mend the highway with the materials. He told me he received the information from Mr. Shepherd, an intelligent farmer of the same town. A fine red dish of very bright red earth, exceedingly smooth ; and within a circle was wrote ARILIS. F., and was very fine ware. This was found with many other broken pieces, with sheep's bones, at the bottom of a well 10 feet deep. A skeleton lay across the top of the well."

Since the subject is a novel one, I trust the above details may not be found too minute or tedious, but I cannot take leave of it without reviewing the principal features apparent in them.

These pits were made designedly, with care, and are not the results of a gradual accumulation of the soil, as in Roman London, for they have been excavated at Chesterford through

the gravel, and at Ewell through the chalk, the natural strata of the localities, and their shape is nearly uniform. The presence of so many vessels of pottery in the shafts, deposited entire at intervals, is a strong evidence against their having been used merely as rubbish holes ; a still stronger argument is furnished by many of them having been sunk so near together, but clearly distinct from one another, as also by their regular cylindrical form and depth. As receptacles for débris an equally large surface of ground would have been more easily obtained, and the necessity of going so deep obviated by throwing them all into one. As in only two instances, out of so many, the water has been reached in these shafts, if they were ever intended for wells we must suppose the Romans to have been perpetually commencing, and abandoning fresh wells unfinished ; but the river Cam, which runs within a hundred yards of the west face of the Borough walls, and less than a quarter of a mile from nearly all these pits, renders the supposition at least most improbable. The discovery of the numerous iron articles in shaft No. 5, seems to favour the idea in Hewitt's History of the Hundred of Compton in Berkshire, where speaking of many round black holes in that neighbourhood, he suggests they may have been intended for granaries or storehouses,⁶ but the position of their contents in the earth at Chesterford, with the exception of one above indicated, sufficiently demonstrates this purpose not to have been their general purpose. There is another use, (that of Cloacæ) which has been considered probable for some holes in another locality, and which, although impossible from the diameter and depth of those under consideration, I notice, in order to state that I have never been able to detect anything, or any appearance in the soil from them, which could justify such a suspicion.

All the above explanations seem to be negatived by the internal evidence of these pits. The only suggestion as yet offered regarding their use, with any degree of probability, is that they were in some manner connected with funeral or sacrificial rites, and although the facts which have been noticed may point to none in particular, many circumstances will be found on considering them, to denote that they were so. The universal prevalence of bones of animals with

⁶ This supposition had likewise been suggested in regard to some shafts found at Woodcote, Surrey, in the neighbourhood

of Ewell, in 1811. Manning and Bray, Hist. of Surrey, vol. iii. App. p. xlviii.

marks of burning, especially bones of bullocks, is alone sufficient to give rise to such an idea, nor is the fact of those of dogs, horses, and sheep being intermingled, calculated to refute it, since all these creatures were sacrificed commonly. The bones of the fowl in many of these holes, a bird especially sacred, and frequently offered to Æsculapius, together with the raven's head found in one pit, point to the same purpose. Coins also, whenever they have been found, and iron fragments appear to have passed through the flames. Fire we know to have been an integral part of sacrifice, and sacrifice an inseparable accompaniment of Roman funeral obsequies, so that the same arguments apply equally to both. Perhaps no conclusive evidence can be derived from two solitary instances of portions of the human frame found in these holes, one mentioned by Mr. Cole in 1769, the other in my own experience, July, 1847.⁷ The number of household vessels, utensils, and articles of personal use in them, are in accordance with the customs of Latin burials. Certainly many of the former are in fragments, but may it not be supposed that having once been hallowed by such a use, they were considered too sacred to be employed again, and even if they had only been formerly for service in the temples, without any reference to funerals. Whether these mysterious penetralia were devoted to celebrating the obsequies of persons dying on the site, or as it has been suggested, of those who dying at a distance could not be burnt; or whether they were simply depositories of consecrated articles which had become unfit for use, of the same nature as the *favissæ*, cavities constructed under a temple, as we learn from Varro, there is no proof positive.⁸ In order as much as possible to facilitate coming to some conclusion on the subject, I have been desirous to place on record the results of my experience, and I trust not without success.⁹

R. C. NEVILLE.

⁷ In the pits at Ewell Dr. Diamond noticed portions of burnt human bones, the animal bones all being unburnt. *Archæologia*, vol. xxxii. p. 452.

⁸ Three of these pits were found under a temple at Fiesole, filled with broken musical instruments, implements, utensils, lamps, damaged fictilia, &c. See Rich's

Companion to the Latin Dictionary, *v. Favissæ*.

⁹ Since the above was written, twelve more holes have been excavated at Chesterford; the results of their examination, which are inserted in their order in the catalogue, are strongly corroborative of some of the observations I have made above.

NOTE ON THE SHAFTS DISCOVERED IN VARIOUS PARTS OF GREAT
BRITAIN AT SITES OF ROMAN OCCUPATION.

To those readers who may take an interest in prosecuting investigation of the subject brought before the Institute by Mr. Neville in the foregoing memoir, the following references to other discoveries of a similar nature may prove acceptable. It is remarkable that, so far as we are at present informed, no depositories of this description have been noticed at Roman stations or towns on the continent, with the exception only of the *farissæ*, formed, as we learn from Festus and Varro, underneath or near temples, to receive objects connected with sacred rites, which had become unfit for use. Such places existed, as it is supposed, in the Capitol, and have been discovered in recent times under a ruined temple at Fiesole. There appears, however, to be no conclusive evidence to connect any of the pits found near Roman stations in England with a place of heathen worship. Amongst discoveries of pits of the same description as those made known to us through the indefatigable zeal and intelligence of Mr. Neville, the following may be noticed. Such shafts have been found in London, and were described by the late Mr. Kempe, in *Gent. Mag.*, Dec., 1838 : a pit of large size, opened in digging the foundations for the new Royal Exchange, is described by Mr. C. Roach Smith as containing, amongst refuse of all kinds, modelling tools and implements of steel in most perfect preservation. Mr. Roach Smith states that similar pits have occurred at Springhead, near Gravesend, and he has noticed those found at Richborough, in his *Antiquities* of that place, p. 55. An account also of certain shafts found in the Isle of Thanet, is given in the *Proceedings* of the Society of Antiquaries, vol. i. p. 328. They have occurred near Winchester, as described, *Gent. Mag.*, Oct., 1838; at Ewell, Surrey, as stated in Mr. Neville's *Memoir*; and at Stone, Buckinghamshire, described in this *Journal*, vol. viii. p. 95, and by Mr. Akerman, in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxiv. p. 21. A considerable number of these remarkable cavities have been excavated by Mr. Trollope, in the stone quarries near the North Gate at Lincoln, and numerous fragments of Roman pottery, &c., with animal remains and debris of all kinds, were found. In Scotland several curious shafts of the like nature were noticed near Perth by Pennant, who describes them as cylindrical pits sunk as places of sepulture. *Tour in Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 109. More recently, railway operations have brought to light, near Newstead, Roxburghshire, several remarkable shafts, two of which were built round with stones. They contained, amidst black soil and animal remains, pottery, shells, bones of deer and oxen, a human skeleton erect with a spear at its side, accompanied by Roman fictilia, and other reliques of the same age. See Dr. Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals*, p. 382. Mr. Wright, in *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, p. 179, adverts to the discoveries of such "Rubbish Pits" near Roman towns, and considers them to be *cloacæ* which had become common depositories for refuse of every description. Dr. Diamond and Mr. Akerman concur in the opinion adopted by Pennant and other writers, that they are to be considered as sepulchral. Mr. Akerman, in his *Memoir* on the discovery at Stone, near Aylesbury, suggests, with much probability, that such pits may be regarded as the *puticuli*, depositories for the ashes of the humblest classes in Roman times, thus described by a writer of the fourth century, Aggenus Urbicus,—"*Sunt in suburbanis loca publica, inopum destinata funeribus, quæ loca culinas appellant.*"

THE PARLIAMENTS OF CAMBRIDGE.

IN pursuance of the plan I have hitherto adopted of inquiring into the history of those national Councils which have been held at the places where the Archaeological Institute has annually met, as well as to continue a series of remarks upon the history of our representative system, it is my intention at present to illustrate the Parliaments held at Cambridge. When tracing the changes that have taken place in the English constitution, it cannot fail to be observed how gradually all these have been effected. The alterations, when viewed from first to last, have undoubtedly been very extensive, but we never seem to have made reforms with violence, or without mature deliberation ; at any time to have lost respect for ancient usages, or to have forgotten the spirit that pervaded our institutions. Thus the prerogative of the Crown and its hereditary descent have always been considered inviolate, limited by certain fixed principles, but still fully recognised and legally transmitted in every enactment. And in the same way the old feudal power of the barons is seen to perpetuate its recognition in the dignity of the peerage and in the part it acts in the councils of the realm, whilst the people with their improving condition have obtained a direct voice in all the acts of legislation. By these means the range of deliberation grew much wider, and all subjects connected with the constitution assumed a more consistent form.

As a passing exemplification of these remarks, and to refer to some previously made, it must be observed that the first national council, called a Parliament, held at Oxford, 42 Henry III. (1258), adopted a representation by twelve barons ; whilst, in the instances of York and Lincoln, which have previously been noticed, we observe the earliest summonses to the burgesses to send members to Parliament. It is needless to follow the intermediate steps of improvement, as they have already been sufficiently discussed in the memoirs alluded to. Yet as one of the transactions in the Parliament held at York in the fifteenth year of Edward II. is the great authority for the legislative power vested in the

King and Parliament united, it may not be irrelevant to the present inquiry to state, that in this Parliament of York, the constitutional law of the land was placed on a more extended foundation than the Great Charter granted by King John had contemplated. In reality, it was a clear acknowledgment that the Commons had a right to share in the legislation of the kingdom, and to unite their opinions with the crown and the upper house in all important affairs of the state. For whilst the provisions of Oxford introduced the nobility into the councils of the monarch, as being representatives at that time for the people, whilst the people themselves were gaining fresh privileges during the whole of the reign of Edward I., and creating that regenerative influence which counteracts the tendency of all governments to grow internally weak, and of liberty itself to decay ; whilst Parliament was formed of peers, spiritual and temporal, of knights, citizens, and burgesses, acting under the king ; in the assembly held at York, it was laid down that all legislative power belonged to the king, with the assent of the prelates, earls, and barons, and the commonalty of the realm. So that in this memorable convention we have the declaration that every act not done by that authority should be void and of none effect.

After this explicit definition of legislative authority, it need not excite our surprise that few changes took place in our constitutional system during the reign of Edward III., or indeed for a long period afterwards. This monarch confirmed on several occasions the charters of his predecessors, to which he was obliged by the necessities of his foreign wars ; and it was mainly owing to his exigencies that we find him so frequently imposing taxes without the consent of Parliament. This disregard, however, for the opinion of his people, tended to establish the imposition of aids in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, on a more equitable basis. The principles of taxation were not, it is true, at this time clearly defined, which is the only excuse that can be offered for the monarch's arbitrary conduct. Yet the commonalty always viewed these taxations with so much jealousy, that every fresh imposition led to the acknowledgment of those fiscal principles which are now so fully established.

When Richard II. ascended the throne he was only ten years and a half old. Everything concurred to place the

youthful monarch in the most favourable position, but all the advantages he derived from his father's popularity and from his own natural innocence and gracefulness of person, were defeated by his falling into the hands of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster. The youthful ruler found the kingdom involved in war, yet neither the internal insurrection of his own subjects, or the expensive hostilities that were carried on with Scotland and France can reasonably be attributed to his own want of prudence. The seeds of discontentment were already sown, and it is unreasonable to charge all the early acts of this reign upon a prince who was little more than a boy, and who for some time to come could not reach years of maturity or discretion. It is enough to consider him responsible when he was a free agent, and the author of his own measures, which he certainly was not, even at the time he attained his majority. It, however, forms no part of our present object to inquire into the history, the pride, the weakness, or the misconduct of this unfortunate monarch. Whatever may have been his faults, whether of indolence or love of parade, he had much sagacity and penetration. And, if he has been described by some as vindictive and weak, it must be recollected that he was also generous and munificent. When the political events of the entire reign are reviewed, it will be found that after the confusion and impoverishment that preceded it, after the discontentment and insurrections he already found distracting the kingdom, he did not individually attempt to govern it by unconstitutional means. The usurpers of power during this reign were the barons, rather than the crown, and he suffered from a reasonable resistance to this interference with the regulation of his private affairs, as well as from the efforts of his council to become independent of Parliament. Moreover, when we consider the great wars Richard was engaged in with France and Scotland, he was the first of our English kings who did not draw support for conducting them by the enforcement of arbitrary aids or oppressive subsidies. Considering Richard II. reigned for nearly twenty-two years, there is no period in our annals of the like duration so barren of historical interest. The agrarian outbreak under Wat Tyler, when he vindicated his character from the imputation of cowardice, and the rise of Lollardy unopposed by royal persecution, are in fact the only two leading points to which attention is commonly directed.

Yet we must not forget to whatsoever cause it may be owing, whether to the supine and luxurious habits of Richard, to the ambitious views of his uncle, John of Gaunt, with whom it was an object to diminish the authority and influence of the king, or whether to the rising spirit of liberty amongst the people, and to a greater division of the legislative power, the constituent parts of this became very clearly defined and established during the reign.

In elucidation, it is necessary briefly to advert to the actual state of the three branches of the constitution at this particular time. The right of hereditary succession to the crown has been fully admitted as a fundamental principle, though from various circumstances four monarchs, Rufus, Henry I., Stephen, and John had attained it, who were themselves out of the direct line of succession. Though the general voice of the kingdom assented to a deviation in these particular instances, it was held then as it has been maintained ever since, that the principle was inviolable. The language, in short, of all the official documents proclaimed Richard II. as king by hereditary right, whilst the settlement of the crown upon Henry IV., his successor, was limited, and by this expression the act was made the more remarkable, limited to this king's eldest son. Just as the Parliament of the first of Richard III., and again the first of Henry VII., entailed the succession to their respective issue and to their heirs.

And to extend the proof still further, the deposition of Henry VI., of Richard himself, and of James II., show most distinctly, more especially in the two former cases, how opposed the English nation was to convert its emergencies under these two monarchs into a standing law. Whenever it was deemed necessary, these deviations from the direct line of succession were permitted, but the ancient foundations were never destroyed. It is, however, needless to say more on a vital principle of the English constitution that has been so ably discussed by Mr. Fox in his speeches on the Regency Bill, as well as by Burke in his *Reflections on the French Revolution*. And, indeed, a very casual examination of our history will prove that it acknowledges no axiom more fully, that it holds no attribute of the sovereign to be more important, nor that any should be more jealously defended from peril.

We next observe the crown during this reign freely exercising its right of creating peers by patent, of confirming the representation to counties, cities, and boroughs, and ratifying to the people the law of usage. It will be at once perceived that all these things show a very advanced state of the English constitution.

The official functions of the barons underwent no change. They continued, as in the previous reign, to form an integral portion of the legislature. But their liberties became now considerably extended, from the concession made by Parliament in the eleventh year of Richard II., that all matters moved in that assembly concerning them should be discussed in Parliament, and not settled by the common or civil law of the land. In this enactment we see the origin of that privilege which has been since assumed by both branches of the legislature, much abused on several occasions by the lower house, and presenting there, what is a dangerous anomaly, if it has not grown into an infringement, or a violation of the law that ought to regulate the equal administration of justice. Numerous instances could be readily adduced to show that when the privileges of Parliament itself are concerned, those who are guardians for the people to preserve their just rights, have not always, especially where individuals and parties are interested, manifested such impartial conduct as their constituencies might properly expect. Witness the events of Richard II.'s reign when it is apparent that the faction that was uppermost invariably directed the proceedings. Nor are instances wanting, if this were a fit occasion to produce them, which would show how in very recent days the peers exercising their judicial functions without reproach or inconsistency, the commons have usurped power, which some of our ablest constitutional writers, men who have filled the very highest judicial offices in the state, have declared to be untenable and illegal, as precluding the royal prerogative of mercy, and according to a decision in the House of Lords in 1701, being subversive of the rights of Englishmen.

The changes experienced in the representation of the people during Richard II.'s reign were so trifling that they require no observation. It is, however, worthy of a passing note, that in his first Parliament the commons prayed him to grant them an annual meeting of Parliament, in a

convenient place, a very different object to the one modern agitators have sought for under annual elections. But to this request the advisers of the king replied, let the statutes be kept as to the meeting of Parliament, and as to the place the king will do his will. Whatever differences may have existed betwixt the king and his council, the power of determining the place of meeting seems invariably to have rested with the monarch.

Having now stated, as succinctly as the subject admitted, what were the changes and what was the actual state of our constitution during the government of Richard II., we come prepared to review the acts of that particular Parliament which the king, through virtue of the right just alluded to, summoned in the twelfth year of his reign to meet him at Cambridge.

When what was termed the Merciless Parliament met in the previous year, the nation was in a great excitement, and it may be presumed that the chief reason for Richard fixing upon Cambridge as the seat of his councils, was that he was here in greater security than in London, for no business relating to the university was transacted on the occasion.

The king was in his twenty-second year when he ordered the writs issued for this Parliament. Like the other transactions of the reign, there is little light to be thrown upon its proceedings. There is but one Liberate Roll of the period, and that one does not contain anything relating to this convention. The Clause Roll has preserved the writs of summonses, and from this we learn that the Archbishop of Canterbury, the keeper of the spiritualities of York, eighteen bishops, twenty-three abbots, including those of Ramsey, Croyland, Thorney, and Bury, which shows that they were then important foundations, fifty-three barons, other judicial functionaries, besides knights from the different counties, and burgesses from Bristol and London, were summoned to attend according to the usual form. The Parliament sat from the 9th of September to the 17th of October, during which time the king watched the proceedings on the spot. A search amongst the public records has failed to produce any new evidence of historical importance touching the subject before us, so that we must be satisfied with simply knowing that this great council of the realm enacted a statute that still remains unrepealed, the original of which is

preserved amongst the rolls of Parliament in the Tower ; and the copy printed amongst the statutes of the realm will supply us with the means of inquiry into its provisions.

The Statute of Cambridge contains sixteen clauses. It will be necessary to notice three of them.

The second provides for the impartial and incorrupt appointment of the various officers or ministers of the king, and that none of them should receive their situation through gift, favour, or affection, but that all such should be made of the best and most lawful men. The third relates to enactments previously made concerning labourers and artificers, confirming those regulations that were unrepealed, and ordaining that no servant or labourer should depart out of the district where he dwelt without bearing a letter patent, stating the reason, and if detected he should be put in the stocks. The fourth clause regulates the wages of servants in husbandry. This seems to have been an amplification of the statute passed with this express object, called the Statute of Labourers, in the 23rd year of the preceding reign (1349). The same subject was considered in several succeeding Acts of Parliament down to the 11th of Henry VII. (1496), when, as it is stated, for many reasonable considerations and causes, and for the common wealth of the poorer artificers as free masons, carpenters, and other persons necessary and convenient for the reparations and buildings, and other labourers and servants of husbandry, those regulations should be void and of none effect. This artificial system of fixing by any legislative enactment the value of labour, even in days when our industrial sources of wealth were most imperfectly developed, was found to be utterly impracticable. It was just as inapplicable to the true interests of employers, as the converse has proved to be to the artisans and labourers who in their turn, by the destruction of machinery, by agrarian insurrections such as those under Wat Tyler, and by lawless multitudes assembling under a fanatic like Sir Thomas Courtnay, or by strikes, by trades unions, or by menacing combinations, of which there are unhappily several recent and calamitous instances, have inflicted a far greater amount of misery on themselves, than of inconvenience and loss upon their employers. But the various evils arising from monopoly and dictation are better suited for the speculations of the political economist, or

of the active benevolence of philanthropy, or of education, than for a dry enquiry like the one now engaging the attention. We must, however, all feel impressed by reflecting upon the social mischiefs that have so often disturbed the relation subsisting betwixt two classes in the community, and lament that with the advancement of civilisation and moral knowledge, the fallacious doctrines of communism are not in our days quite exploded.

There is but another clause in this Statute of Cambridge that seems to call for remark. The thirteenth may truly be considered as the earliest notice taken by the legislature of the health of towns. It is a sewage, nuisance, or sanitary clause, prohibiting, under a penalty of 20*l.*, any person from casting annoyances into the ditches, rivers, or waters, or laying them nigh divers cities, boroughs, and towns of the realm, by which the air is greatly corrupt and infect, and maladies and other intolerable diseases do daily happen. This attests, contrary to what has often been asserted, that England was behind other countries in Europe in the provisions made for the public health.

Before the Parliament was dissolved, it granted a fifteenth and a tenth, which was perhaps the chief reason for its being called together. It is singular that not any petitions should have been presented to it—at least none have been preserved. And there is but one illustration that has, after a diligent search, presented itself for notice, namely, that the Issue Roll of the Exchequer gives the expenses (1*l.* 4*s.* 4*d.*) of two individuals for conveying charters, rolls, and other memorials to the Parliament: another also received 16*s.* 4*d.* which the king ordered to be paid him for red wax for the office of his Privy Seal, bought from divers persons at London, Oxford, and Northampton, when the Parliament was held at Cambridge.¹

¹ Exitus de termino S. Michaelis Anno 12, Ric. 2. Die Lune xix^a die Octobris. Thomas Restwold.—Thome Restwold uni numerariorum de Receipta Saccharii misso versus Cantabr.: cum cartis rotulis et aliis memorandis de Sacchario, et ad eadem Rotulos et Memoranda in Parlamento Regia ibidem tento, demonstranda, pro certa informatione in eisdem rotulis et memorandis habenda. In denariis sibi liberatis per manus proprias pro vadis et expensis suis, ne pro locatione equorum

suorum pro viagio predicto. Per consensum Thesaurarii et enumerariorum, xi^a.

Thomas Monk.—Thome Monk nuncio misso per dominum Thesaurarium de Cantebria usque London cum literis dicti domini. Thesaurarii directis Johanni Innocent clerico pro certis negociis officium dicti domini. Thesaurarii concernentibus, et redempti versus Cantabr. predictam in comitiva predicti Thome Restwold. In denariis sibi liberatis per

A second Parliament was summoned to meet in Cambridge in the 15th of Henry VI. (1437), but the place of meeting was afterwards changed to Westminster.

And a third Parliament was summoned here in the 25th of the same reign (1447), but by a re-issue of the writs it was removed to Bury St. Edmunds, and held in the Refectory of the Monastery. The town first sent representatives 26th of Edward I. (1298). The university not until the reign of James I.

After the great constitutional enquiry we have been considering, it is readily admitted that the two preceding entries on the Issue Roll are in themselves very trifling illustrations of the subject. But they possess a certain degree of value, as serving to convey a definite idea of the exact mode of conducting the common routine of official business—whilst such minute entries as these bring out the early passages of national history with a distinctness that is very encouraging to those who are actuated by a zeal for research, as well as being in themselves highly characteristic of the accuracy with which all the public acts of the Crown were recorded. It has often been thrown out, as an undeserved aspersion upon diligent and laborious writers of the history of ancient times, that they unduly estimate these little evidences, but they form in reality some of those strong links that serve to strengthen and hold together the entire chain of historical fact—and whoever presumes to pursue his researches, whether they lie in the wide field of history, or the more uncertain labyrinth of archaeology, without paying a conscientious respect to the various little details that bear upon them, will obtain but a very confused and superficial notion of the object of his enquiry. Those who have trained themselves in this precise method of investigation, who draw their information from pure, original and authentic sources, who consult unpublished records, and decipher the nearly illegible characters in which they are written, and who, therefore, produce some fresh reality, quickly find that such a system brings with it its own recompense. The vivid colours in

manus proprias pro vadiis et expensis suis, xii^s. iii^d.

Robertus Chaundler.—Eidem Roberto in denariis sibi liberatis per manus proprias in persolutionem, xv^s. iii^d., quos dominus rex sibi liberari mandavit pro cera

rubra emptā de diversis personis videlicet tam apud London, Oxon. Norht., quam apud Cantabr., tempore ultimi Parliamenti Regis ibidem tenti, pro officio privati Sigilli Regis prædicti, xv^s. iii^d.

which they behold displayed what was hitherto uncertain and dim is beyond doubt a pleasing vision, but it is not a false or unsubstantial creation, since it foreshadows the conviction, that they are breaking up new ground, and sowing those seeds of truth which will effectually dispel the doubts, as well as lighten the toil, of future labourers.

CHARLES HENRY HARTSHORNE.

THE "HALES" AT THE NEW TEMPLE ON THE OCCASION
OF THE KNIGHTING OF PRINCE EDWARD.

A DOCUMENT relating to this subject, which has been recently discovered among the records preserved in the Tower,¹ has been brought under the notice of the Institute, through the kindness of Mr. William Twopeny. It had been communicated to him by Mr. William Basevi Sanders of the Record Office there, whose researches have at various times been productive of information connected with the details of medieval architecture. There is no date, but from the hand-writing the record has been supposed to belong to the early part of the reign of Edward II. It is a petition to the king and council in the following terms :—

“ Pleise a nostre seigneur le Roi, pur lamour de Dieu, et pur oeuvre de charite, comandier a son Tresorer paier a Wautier le Marberer de Londres et a Johanna sa femme viij livres, pur merin pur les Hales, faites au Noef Temple ou le dit nostre seigneur le Roi fust fait chivaler.”

Indorsed is the following answer to the application :—

“ Aconte la ou devera, et en soit le Roi certifie.”

Brief as it is, this document involves some particulars of historical interest. It may be thus rendered into English:—May it please our lord the king, for the love of God, and as an act of charity, to command his treasurer to pay to Walter the Marbler of London and Joan his wife 8*l.* for timber for the booths made at the New Temple where (or possibly *when*) our said lord the king was made a knight. The answer indorsed is,—Account for (i. e., pay) it where due, and certify the king thereof.

Though undated, the contents show that the inference from the hand-writing is in all probability correct.

The New Temple, it is, perhaps, needless to mention, was on the site of the present Temple ; the Old Temple having been near the site of Southampton Buildings, Chancery

¹ Petitions to the King in Council. M., 264.

Lane. The Templars took possession of their new house as early as the latter part of the twelfth century.

The first inquiry suggested by the petition is, on what occasion was it that timber had been furnished for erecting booths in the New Temple? From Rymer² and M. Westminster³ we may, I think, collect a satisfactory answer. It appears that in April, 1306, King Edward I., preparatory to his last expedition into Scotland, was minded to knight his eldest son and heir-apparent, Prince Edward, who had attained the age of twenty-two years without having had that distinction conferred upon him. The king, therefore, summoned all those young noblemen and gentlemen, who were bound by their fees to take such service, and had not been knighted, to attend at Westminster on the feast of Pentecost next, and there receive knighthood, promising them rich military garments out of his own wardrobe. At the time appointed, there assembled 300 young men, sons of earls, barons, and knights, and because the king's Palace at Westminster was not large enough to lodge them and their attendants, recourse was had to the New Temple, where the apple-trees in the gardens having been cut down, and some walls removed, booths and tents (*papiliones et tentoria*) were erected for their accommodation. The prince and the young men of noblest birth kept their vigils at Westminster, where, as the chronicler tells us, there was such a noise of trumpets and pipes, and such a clamour of voices, that the monks could not hear themselves from one side of the choir to the other. The other candidates, most likely the more numerous party, kept their vigils in the Temple. The next day the king knighted the prince in the Palace at Westminster, having given him the duchy of Aquitaine to support his new dignity. The prince then went to the Abbey Church, that he might confer the like honour on his companions, and so great was the concourse of people before the principal altar, that two knights were killed, and many fainted, though each candidate was attended by three knights to conduct him through the ceremony and take care of him. It should seem the pressure was such that in the church the way had to be kept by war chargers, (*dextrarios bellicosos*), and the prince could not gird his companions with the military belt except

² Rymer's *Fœdera* (new edit.) i. pp. 982, 983.

³ Sub anno 1306.

upon the great altar (*super magnum altare*). Another chronicler, quoted by Selden,⁴ says, that the prince knighted sixty of the candidates, and kept a feast at the New Temple. The rest probably received the honour from other distinguished knights. The last-mentioned chronicle states that 400 were knighted on the occasion; but this may be the error of a transcriber, as such a mistake, the addition of a c, might be easily made.⁵

The next inquiry is, why the petitioners should have asked for the money as an act of charity. It does not appear difficult to conjecture the cause, when we call to mind the events of the time. The next year, while the timber was evidently unpaid for, the Templars, on whose responsibility it should seem to have been furnished, fell into disgrace; and in France all who could be found were arrested in October, 1307. Edward II., who had in the meantime succeeded his father, was unwilling to credit the charges made against them, or to join in the persecution of the order, until he received a letter from the Pope urging him to do so. He then issued writs for the general arrest of those in England, which was effected on the 11th of January, 1308. He seized their property, and gave portions of it to his friends; but the Pope, having required it to be transferred to the Hospitallers, after some disputes, parts of it having been claimed by private individuals on various grounds, the king gave it up to the Hospitallers in November, 1313, and it was afterwards confirmed to them by an act of Parliament in 1324. That order took it subject to the Templars' debts⁶; and, therefore, under these circumstances, we may reasonably conclude the petition was presented between 1307 and 1313, while the property was in the king's hands, and Walter and his wife were without remedy for the debt.

If it be thought remarkable that a *marbler* should have furnished *timber* (for there is no doubt of this being the meaning of the word *merin*, which, in the form of *merrain*,

⁴ Titles of Honour, Part II. ch. V. s. xxxiv. p. 775.

⁵ W. Hemmingford, with apparent precision, states the number knighted to have been 257; but Ashmole (pp. 37—8), advertg to the discrepancy in the text, says, it was only 267, and he gives their names from the Wardrobe accounts. Notwithstanding the great number then

knighted, it appears that in November in the same year others, who probably were not able to attend on that occasion, were summoned to the king at Carlisle to receive knighthood on the Feast of the Purification (Feb. 2) 1307. Rymer's *Fœdera* (new edit.), i. p. 1604.

⁶ Rot. Parl. II., p. 25 b.

marrin, *merrein*, and *marrin* is found in Lacombe, and as *merrein*, and *merrien* in Glossaire de l'ancien droit Français, by Dupin and Laboulaye), I would suggest that the timber was not furnished by him. This is to be inferred from the wife being joined in the petition, which would hardly have been the case had the money been owing to the husband. It is far more likely that the debt was due to the wife, as the widow or daughter and representative of the person who furnished the timber, and that she had in the meanwhile married Walter the marbler; for then the junction of them both in the petition would have been quite regular.

The word "halles" in modern French, for buildings in which markets are held, is well known. It was formerly spelt "hales;" such places were probably so called from the kind of structures in which the business was transacted. It was not very uncommon in this country as meaning booths or the like. In the Promptorium Parvulorum we have "Hale or tente,—papilio, scena," and several examples, diversely spelt, of the word in that sense are given there in a note by Mr. Way.

The class of documents among which the petition was found has not yet been completely indexed. Mr. W. B. Sanders was engaged in making a calendar of them when he discovered it. Many of them, he says, are printed with the Parliament Rolls. He has since been so obliging as to inform us, that there is a second petition from Walter and Joan nearly word for word like the first, from which we may infer that they experienced some difficulty in getting their money. The answer to the second application was, "Soit baillee au Tresorer et en face ce qil verra qc seit a faire." Edward's prodigality and the surveillance of the bishops and barons, who had been appointed to see to the better ordering of his realm and household, may have been alike unfavourable to the petitioners, notwithstanding the encouraging reply to their first application.

W. S. W.

NORTON CHURCH, IN THE COUNTY OF DURHAM.

“ HERE giveth Northman Earl unto Saint Cuthbert Ediscum, and all that thereunto serveth (hyreth), and one-fourth of an acre at Foregenne.

“ And I Ulfcytel, Osulf’s son, give Northtun by metes, and with men, unto Saint Cuthbert, and all that thereunto serveth, with sac and with soken, and any one who this perverts, may he be ashired from God’s deed and from all sanctuary.”¹

An Osulf was Earl of Northumberland about 952. Escombe is in Durham, and in all probability the Norton here mentioned is Norton, near Stockton, rather than Norton, near Wath, in Yorkshire, which, with the neighbouring vills of Hutton, Holme, and Holgrave, were granted by Bishop Flambard to the family of Conyers.

At all events, Nortonshire ² (as the records of Bishop Bek call the parish) was a very early possession of the church of Durham, cutting through the wapentake of Sadberge to the Tees, and severing that district into two great portions. From the eastern or coast portion, termed Hartness, Norton was ashired by a strong natural boundary, a large morass, through which the numerous branches of Blakiston Beck percolated. The adjoining parish was that of Billingham, which had been granted to the church before the annexation of Norton, but which was soon sundered by the violence of the times, and formed the southernmost limit of a Pagan usurpation of the territory of Hartness. That the morass was of considerable importance cannot be doubted, and we can well understand how it came to pass that the fields of Norton, which slope towards it, are full of human remains. We can also readily believe that the peculiar circumstances of the place required the erection of a church at a very early period.

¹ Liber Vitæ Dun., 43 b.

² A shire, in the north, was any

assemblage of places *ashired* or cut off, or bounded out from the adjacent country.

Billinghamshire was not restored to the church till the reign of the Conqueror, and then it was given to the convent, and not to the see. Consequently, it continued to be under a jurisdiction different to that of Norton. The latter place emerges from obscurity in 1082, when Blaichestun (Blakiston), one of its chief estates, was granted to the newly-placed monks of Durham, and Bishop de Karilepho, who made the grant, disposed of the ejected secular priests of the cathedral by distributing them to the churches of Auckland, Darlington, and Norton, at all which places, therefore, ecclesiastical edifices must have been existing.

It does not appear whether the expelled seculars were followed by a regular succession of prebendaries or not ; but in 1227 we find that Norton Church was collegiate, and so it continued, consisting of eight portionists or prebendaries, of one of whom, Robert Brerely, there is an effigy of brass in the church of Billingham, where he was vicar. The prebendaries had the great tithes, and had to uphold the choir of the church, a duty which they scandalously neglected. In 1410, on Vicar Bromley's complaint, Cardinal Langley ordered them to repair the chancel. In 1496, Bishop Fox sequestered their incomes for the purpose of rebuilding it, assigning as a reason that "the canons, prebendaries of the same church, had permitted the chancel of the said collegiate church, which had been decently and richly constructed for the praise and worship of God, to fall into ruin and desolation, as well in the roof, main walls, and windows, as in divers other respects." In 1579 the chancel was again "in decay."

Bishop Skirlaw, in 1406, gave to the Church of Norton a set of vestments of white satin, embroidered with little golden leopards, edged with green stuff termed card (*cardâ*) ; containing a chasuble with narrow golden orfreys, two tunics, and a cope with orfreys of red velvet, embroidered with squared quarterings (*cum garteriis quadratis*), three albs and three amices, two stoles, and three maniples.

The College of Norton shared the fate of its peers. In 1553, pensions of 5*l.* each were paid to Lancelot Thwaites, *minister*, and six other persons. Probably one of the eight portionists had died. Thwaites does not occur in the list of *vicars*, Gilpin, the Apostle of the North, having succeeded, in 1554, on the deprivation of John Rudd, who had been vicar from 1539. The vicar has a small copyhold

manor. The remainder of the township of Norton is principally copyhold or leasehold under the bishop. The manor of Blakiston forms the chief exception. The remainder of the old parish of Norton has, since Queen Anne's days, composed the parliamentary parish of Stockton-upon-Tees. At this place a chapel had been founded in 1237. It was dedicated to St. Thomas the Martyr. The parishioners of Stockton, Preston, and Hartburne, were advantaged by it, but had to visit their mother-church on the Feast of the Assumption, and pay the vicar 50s. They offered one penny with the consecrated bread every Lord's day, except when they attended Norton Church. "The chapell of Stoketon standeth a myle [nearly two modern miles] from the parishe churche, not only for the easement of the inhabitants of the towne of Stoketon, but also for the easement of divers parishioners of sundrie other parishes in the winter tyme, when for rayny fludes they can come none wher els to here devyne service." The rainy floods were caused by a stream and morass between Norton and Stockton, very similar to that between Norton and Billingham, and they have not ceased. Yet, however necessary the chapel was, it did not escape the harpies of Edward VI.'s time, and before the establishment of the new parish, the inhabitants of Stockton paid 3/. per annum, commonly called the *Priest's own*, to the vicar of Norton, who maintained a curate at his own cost to save the chapelry, the possessions of which were in lay hands. The old chapel stood a little south of the present large brick church, which was opened in 1712.

The village of Norton occupies an elevated promontory, surrounded on three sides by the marshes already noticed. It has been likened to a frying-pan. The pan terminating the long town street (its handle), is composed of two squares of green common, divided by a slight eminence, on which, according to a not uncommon arrangement, stand the village forge and bakehouse.³ The western square has been thrown out of shape by an enclosure before the church, which stands at its north-west corner; and here, according to tradition, (which names a pond in the square "Cross Dyke,") was held the market of Norton, which was granted to Bishop Flam-bard by Henry I., to be held on Sunday, a day not disagreeable to the people in early times. A Friday market at

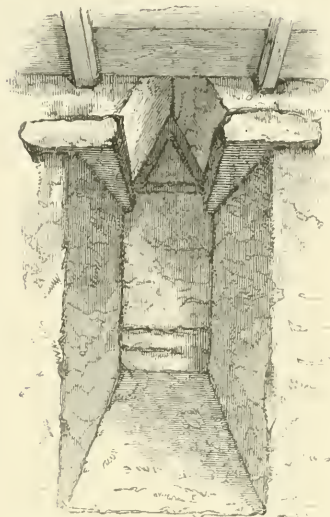
³ The bakehouse belongs to the grammar-school.

Sedgefield was, in the XIVth century, quite neglected, and the chapmen exposed their merchandise and transacted their business in the church porch on Sundays.

The collegiate church consists of a central tower, and the usual four limbs of a cross, of which the nave only is furnished with aisles, and these in modern times have been widened so as to be flush with the transepts. The names of the transepts or porches (porch being a common expression in the north for private chapels or chantries in churches, of various descriptions) are gathered from an allotment of seats in 1635. The parishioners were to be placed in decent manner according to their ranks, degrees, and qualities. "Mr. Davison, of Blaixton, shall sitt in the seate next unto the chancell one the north side, where he usith to sitt, and for his servants and tenants to sitt in the north porch, which is called by the name of 'Blaixton Porch.' As for men servants which cannot read, we appoynt them for to sitt in the south porch, called by the name of 'Pettie Porch ;' and as for women servants, for to be placed to kneele down in the midle ally, nere the font." The south porch is usually called "Pity Porch," and Mr. Hutchinson (in his History of Durham) and the parishioners consider that an altar or image of our Lady of Pity stood there. The base of a wooden screen separates Blakiston Porch from the remainder of the church, and that porch is full of memorials of the later lords of Blakiston.

The consequences of Bishop Fox's sequestration are very visible in the chancel ; the east window, two south windows, (the westernmost one being, as usual, lower than the other,) and the priest's door, being all of his period. The masonry near the latter object is much disturbed, and some suppose that a fine early English recess in the interior, a little to the east of it, was the original doorway. It seems to me to be far too rich for the interior of a doorway, and much too perfect to be the exterior of it turned round, and it has all the appearance of being a single *sedile*. The old font having been removed to the vicar's gardens, a porcelain basin was inserted in this arch, and was used for baptisms until it was lately supplanted by a handsome stone font in the appropriate place in the nave. Brewster calls the recess "a niche or ancient piscina," and a piscina *might* have been inserted in it during Fox's alterations, but the wall sounds hollow elsewhere, and Brewster lived before these matters were treated with much precision.

NORTON CHURCH, IN THE COUNTY OF DURHAM.



Small Window in the Tower, interior view.



Chancel arch, looking West.

The east end (save its window) and north side of the choir are essentially Early English. The nave is Transitional Norman, having pointed arches on plain cylindrical piers of Bishop Pudsey's time, and I strongly suspect that this prelate placed the college on the foundation we find it, in the same manner as he founded the College of Darlington. A doorway from the south aisle into Pity Porch, and the east window of the latter are also transitional.

Attention must now be called to the tower and transepts, which have considerable interest. It will be observed, from the appearance of the tower arches, that the vestigia of an earlier chancel are visible. (See woodcut.) This chancel was of the same width as the transepts and nave, and if Transitional Norman, could not need replacing by an Early English successor. It will further be seen that while the transepts open by two very rude, narrow arches, without mouldings, unless their projecting edge can be so called, the nave and choir open by two arches of their utmost width, with transitional mouldings.⁴ The obvious conclusion is that, on the building of the nave, the constructors wishing to obtain a complete transitional vista to the east, remodelled two arches of the tower, and this conclusion seems to be rendered certain by the appearance of the next story of the steeple, where the rude angular-headed windows, one of which is here represented, are found above both classes of arch. The width of the base of the triangle is not so great as that of the lower portion of these windows, and hence they have a shouldered appearance. The next story is lighted by mere slits, rather singularly disposed by two on each side, some of them being very near to the angles of the building. Here the ancient tower ended. The superstructure is Perpendicular, and of much thinner masonry than the walls beneath, the surplus thickness of the latter serving as a support for the great beams of the bell-frames.⁵ The change of masonry is also detected on the exterior by a slight hitch in the outline.

The north transept or Blakiston Porch is composed of very small square stones, with angles of long and short work,

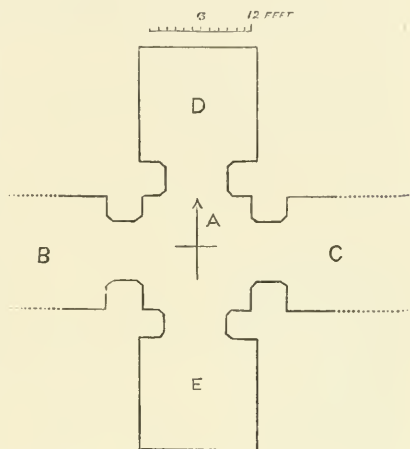
⁴ The piers of these arches are cut away for pews, leaving the capitals as corbels.

⁵ The bells having been recast, I give the inscriptions on the old bells from my rubbings—1. "A. D. 1607 R. V."—2.

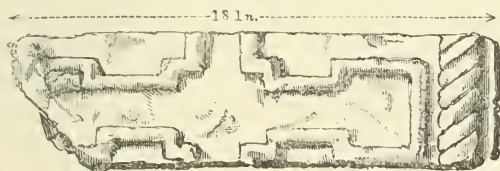
"Anno Domini, 1613. J. C."—3. "Venite, Exultemus, Domino. S. S. 1664—R. D. J. C." Between each word a shield of arms, a chevron between three bells impaling three. . . .

which also appeared in the south transept before it was refaced. The tower is roughcast.

A Norman church would scarcely want rebuilding in Pudsey's time, and I have no doubt that in the tower and transepts of Norton we see the remains of the Saxon church which received the expelled seculars of Durham in 1085. The choir, it may be noticed, is more than two-thirds the length of the nave, which only comprises three arches. Perhaps all the arms of the Saxon church were rather short and equal. In consequence of the arches on the north and south being narrower than the transepts themselves, the church, when in its original simple cruciform shape, would assume the common form, which appears in St. Cuthbert's Cross, the



Original outline of the interior of Norton Church.
A. Tower. B. Original Nave. C. Original Choir.
D. Blakiston Porch. E. Pettie Porch.



Cross on the edge of a Roman slab from Jarrow.

Hartlepool tombstones inscribed with Runes, on a fragment from Jarrow, on the edge of a Roman slab, now in the Castle of Newcastle, and other

instances. A base of a cross noticed in Brand's account of Jarrow probably belonged to the design engraved, which, as the slab has been laid flat in a wall, must have run up the wall.

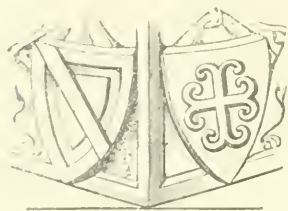
After very careful examination, suggested by the position of the triangular-headed windows, I cannot detect any change of masonry in the gable of Blakiston Porch, and I am led from this fact, and reference to Saxon MSS., to believe that, like the Romans, the Saxons used roofs of very moderate pitch. I am not unmindful that, in the later towers of Jarrow

and Darlington, there are a second set of tower arches opening to the roofs, and forming a sort of rood-loft, and I am not sure that the room above the ground story of Monk Wearmouth Tower did not always open to the nave. But the windows at Norton are not adapted to this purpose.

There is no newel stair to this tower. It is reached by a stair in Pity Poreh, from which a doorway opens under the triangular-headed lights.

In the south-east corner of Blakiston Poreh there lay formerly a fine monumental effigy, now removed to the south of the altar. This effigy is engraved in Surtees' Durham. The costume is almost precisely that of the effigy of Brian Fitz Alan (who died 1301) in Bedale Church, and the very design and workmanship of the two effigies are so similar that one would incline to ascribe them to one hand. The feet of the Blakiston effigy rest on a spirited group, consisting of two animals (one of them certainly a lion, perhaps

the other so also) tearing one another. A single figure sits with a book at the knight's side. There are two very remarkable circumstances about this effigy. First, the shield borne on the arm is clearly a "palimpsest," for its bearings could only be borne by the descendants of John Blakiston, who died in 1586. There are, however, behind the canopy over the knight's head, two



Shields at the back of the head of the Norton Effigy.

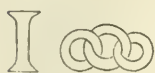
shields:—1. An inescutcheon within a bordure, over all a bend. 2. A cross moline. These heraldic bearings are fashioned in a manner contemporaneous with the effigy.

Of these coats, the cross moline seems certainly to belong to Fulthorpe, a family seated at Fulthorpe, in the neighbouring parish of Grindon. The other suggests the feudal influence of Baliol, and it is perhaps worth noticing that the dictionaries of arms give another coat to Fulthorpe, Argent, an inescutcheon sable. It is remarkable that these tinctures are not only those of the more usual coat of the cross,⁶ but also

⁶ One of the crests of the Tunstall stock was an eagle displayed *argent*, charged on the breast with a cross moline *alt.* I call attention to the coincidences

in the text in consequence of having repeatedly remarked a tendency in families to marry with others of similar bearings or tinctures.

of all the six quarterings given in the visitation, for Fulthorpe of Fulthorpe and Tunstall, (Bland, Burgh of Burgh, near Catterick, and Booth, are amongst them,) and even of another class of coats ascribed to the name of Fulthorpe, in which a lion and *annulets* semé or in orle are variously disposed.⁷ And here, rather in coincidence



than in connection, comes in the second observable feature of the Norton effigy, which was hidden from Mr. Surtees' draughtsman.

It is a mark on the bevel of the monument near the base of the shield, an I and three links or annulets interlaced. Is this an early example of a badge, or of a sculptor's mark? I am at present disposed to think that it is the artist's device, because, on the base of a small image⁸ found at St. Helen's Chapel, Hartlepool, we have the remains, as it would seem, of the same mark, the links not quite of the annulet form. One might suppose the sculptor to have been called John Cheyne, or by some synonymous appellation;⁹ perhaps Locke, since the same device, with three oak trees, formed the punning coat of the Lockwoods of Newcastle, quartered by Anderson of Haswell Grange. Can it be the local name, found (in the genitive?) in *Lucasland* mentioned in Hatfield's Survey? (see the note *infra*.) All the modern families of Lucas bear six annulets, and that name may be merely Luke, Latinised, or in the genitive case, as Jones, for John or *Johannes*.



Fragment found at St. Helen's Chapel, Hartlepool.

Did the Norton effigy really represent a member of the family called Blakiston? I apprehend that it did not.

The manor of Blakiston was granted by Bishop Karilepho to the monks. Bishop Flambard reft it away and granted it

⁷ "Norton, Rogerus Fulthorp miles tenet duo messuagia et una carucata terræ vocata Lucasland." *Hatfield's Survey*. "Lucas (Durham); or, a tess between 6 *annulets* sable." *Gen. Armory*.

⁸ The upper tunic of the larger figure, and the dress of the smaller one, are painted with vermillion; the larger figure may have represented a patron saint; the workmanship is similar to that of the Norton and Bedale effigies.

⁹ Tremayle has also been suggested, a name occurring in the western counties.

Any indication of the name or device of the artist is rarely found in sepulchral memorials. Mr. Waller has noticed a remarkable example at Westley Waterless, Cambridgeshire, in his "*Sepulchral Brasses*." In Hefner's "*Costume du moyen age Chretien*," a representation is given of the effigy of George von Seckendorf, who died in 1444. On one of the lappets of the skirt which falls under his taces, the sculptor has introduced an escutcheon and monogram, doubtless his personal device or mark.

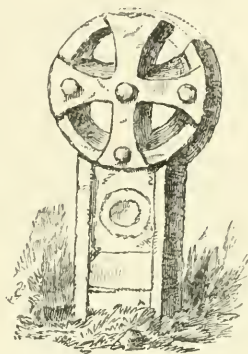
to his nephew ; but in his dying hour the sting of conscience smote him, and, borne to the altar of his cathedral, he offered his golden ring upon it in testimony of restitution. The nephew's rights passed away with his uncle's repentance, and the strong powers the king gave "that he might no more be afflicted with the clamour of the monks." His descendants had Blakiston a little longer by acknowledging the superiority of the convent ; but, in the XIIIth century we find in the manor a line of knightly owners, who sprung from Old Park, on the Wear, and bore the name of their birth-place. Geoffrey de Park, of Blakiston, was at the battle of Lewes in 1264, and Richard Park was lord in 1323. A new family was, however, nursing in the manor, whose members contrived to tear field after field, and finally the manor itself, from their lords. In 1320, John de Blaykeston was chaplain of the chantry, which the Parks founded in their chapel at Blakiston. Before 1341, Roger, *the cook* of Blakiston, had obtained a lease of property, which in that year Richard-Fitz-Richard Park sold him in fee. Hugh de Blakeston occurs at the same time, and in 1349 his son acquired the manor.

We have already seen that the effigy corresponds with that of Brian Fitz Alan, who died in 1301. Suppose, for the sake of argument, that it was erected in readiness some years before the death of the person represented, or that when he died an old man he still wore old-fashioned armour, we may stretch twenty years forward, and still be a quarter of a century from the earliest Blakistons of any repute or ownership. In all probability a Park intervened between Geoffrey of 1264 and Richard of 1323, and might well own the monument. If this was not the case, it may be assigned to Richard ; but, as the features are not aged, it must, in that event, have been prepared in his lifetime. The two shields behind the head are both, perhaps, arms of alliance, and if there was originally a coat on the large shield (and surely there must have been), the substitution of the arms of Blakiston was an act of great meanness.

The Blakistons were not ungrateful to the memory of Rogerus *Cocus*. They wore red cocks in their shields, and mounted a cock for their crest. The heralds call these birds dunghill-cocks. One would have thought that black-cocks would have been a better allusion. Robert Blakiston,

a priest, of Stainton in Cleveland, in 1522, had a brother Robert. The latter made heraldry and ancestral remembrances tell for convenience, and called himself Robert Cok.

I do not know the boundaries of Blakiston Manor, but I have sometimes thought that an early stone cross (with the usual imitations of gems (?) in the form of small round protuberances), discovered, and still standing near a farm-house¹ in the neighbourhood, had some reference to them. What remains of the churchyard cross of Norton, a plain square shaft, chamfered at the angles, lies on the wall next to a stile at the south-west corner of the churchyard.



Cross at Colpitt's Farm, near Norton.

The vicarage house is modern. Its predecessor, said to have been built by Vicar Sisson (1746-1773), is figured in Hutchinson's Durham. In 1415, Vicar Robert Bromley leaves the residue of his estate to his executors to spend, according to the bishop's directions, in payment of his debts, at the amount of which he greatly grieves, and the repair of his mansion at Norton, "*ad quam teneo ultra quam sufficere potero.*" The executors renounced probate, but the bishop imposed administration on one of them, a brother of the testator.

There was at Norton a "free chapel of Norton Hermitage," part of the possessions of which seem to have been appropriated to Stockton Chapel. These fell into lay hands; the remainder,² with probably a portion of other chantry lands, appear to have endowed the Grammar School of Norton, which stands in "the Hermitage Garth," and by leases of the bishop (going back to 1600) owns two common ovens or bakehouses, (one of them now waste, and situate at the foot of the village, the other between the two greens as before mentioned,) a toft or kilnstead where the Lady Kiln formerly stood, the close called Kiln Close, or Lady Close, and an acre with the same kiln formerly occupied. Besides

¹ Thorney Close, if I view the maps aright. I know the place better as the Out Farm, or Colpitt's or Swalwell's Farm, from the names of its recent occupiers.

² The subject is obscure, and perhaps

the evidences in Brewster's Stockton are not very accurately given. It may however be gathered that the establishment had been broken up before the general dissolution of such foundations.

these old leaseholds, the school holds 20 poles of allotted land behind the building (set out in 1673), and some escheats granted by the bishop in 1720. The school is due east of the church, and probably occupies the site of the chapel or hermitage, but its only ancient feature is part of the west gable, containing a square mullioned window, and even this, perhaps, is contemporaneous with a piece of Jacobean carved woodwork discovered in the house not long ago.

In 1501, there was in Norton parish a vicar, non-resident, a "capellanus parochiæ" (the chaplain of Stockton ?) and Sir Thomas Aplbie, chantry priest. The Ecclesiastical Survey of 2 Edward VI. returns "the parishe church of Norton havinge howseling people, 700." Besides Stockton chapel it names the existence of a priest in the church for term of years. He had "stocke of money for iij. yerres to come, at iij. l. by the yere, geven by William Blaxston, xij. l.," and was evidently to officiate in Blakiston Porch for a few years for the soul of the last departed lord, William (who died before 1533). The nature of the college seems to have been remarkable. Under "the porcion of tythe within the seyd parishe of Norton," we find eight incumbents, "having the seyd tythes (yearly value, 48 l.) porcioned emonge them to studye at the universitie;" Lancelot Thwayte, and the six who received pensions (as before stated) being among them. This statement agrees with a demise to Will. Crofton the same year of the tithe grain of Norton parish into eight portions, divided by ancient custom for the exhibition of lay scholars and otherwise, at the pleasure of the Bishop of Durham. So Bishop Barne's "Clavis Ecclesiastica" mentions the "eichte laye porcionarii seu prebendæ, everione 8 l. and were of the Busshope of Durham's gifte but are now dissolved and in the Quene's handes."

In 1580, the Bible in Norton Church was "not sufficient, beinge *old* and torne, lackinge fower or five leaves together in sundrye places of St. Paule's epistles."

KING'S COLLEGE CHAPEL WINDOWS, CAMBRIDGE.

"Lucem tuam da nobis, o Deus."

*Motto of the Company of Glaziers and Painters on Glass, Incorporated 1637.*¹

IN hot climates the window proper—that is, the window for admitting light—is, and ever was, a mere germ.

So manifestly is this the case, that it has led some of our writers to reflect too hastily upon the ancients. Thus, Mr. Hope blames them for "not admitting the light;" and Hallam wonders that "with all their wisdom they overlooked the window."

But the truth is, the inhabitants of those countries where architecture was born, did not want windows in the sunny climate of the south, and therefore instinctively kept them small and subordinate. The window was never a feature of ancient architecture: Vitruvius does not name it, though he describes both the door and the ventilator.² Much the same may be said of the countries in question at this day; their window, if enlarged at all, is enlarged for the purpose of admitting air rather than light, heavily trellised, and seldom occupied by glass.

Here, on the other hand, owing to the necessities of a northern latitude, the window is at once large, serial, and ornamental; perhaps the most striking feature of our architecture.

It would be an instructive study to trace the history of the window step by step, from the classical through the Byzantine, to the Gothic styles, observing how it has continually increased in size and importance as a medium of light, according to the isothermal line, or in other words, according to the necessities of climate; but our present business lies rather with another element entering into the

¹ Maitland's London. Fol. p. 1246.

² "Lumen hypætri" which Wilkins renders, "the space intended to be left open to the air;" and explains in a note

as "that part of the door which was hypæthral, or exposed to the air." Vitruv. Wilkins, p. 81.

calculation here. Our Gothic windows would never have grown to such dimensions but for the discovery, or at least the increased use of *glass*.

While a northern latitude demanded light, it demanded also a protection from the storm.

Our ancestors, therefore, so long as glass was unattainable, very wisely contented themselves with lofty and widely splayed, but narrow windows.

It was only with the freer use of glass, first as a protection, and then as an ornament—a surface for the display of taste—that the window expanded, embracing mullion after mullion, until, at length, in the Perpendicular period, we have almost a wall of glass, as in the noble specimen under consideration.³

But, besides this general ground of interest, as a piece of fenestral work, the windows of King's have some intrinsic and *peculiar* claims to attention.

The pictures they contain are the original glazing of the chapel; they are well preserved and intelligible; they are extensive, varied, and complete, a thing very rare in this or any other land. They belong to the last style of glass; and since all the preceding styles were executed upon the same essential principles, these windows serve as a specimen of all.

They were painted at a period when the “*Ars Vitrary*” had attained its perfection, that is to say, when it exhibited grand and instructive designs without tampering with the nature of any of its materials.

And lastly, as this is the latest example of a style of glass, ere the degeneracy or rather eclipse commenced, we may take it to be the best in the eyes of the latest professed masters, who, in forming it, deliberately laid aside the older and more conventional styles, for this free and pictorial one. Such are some of the interesting points of the windows before us.

Let us enter a little more into detail on a few of them.

With regard to the *history* of these windows, we possess

³ This law of progress is still in force. A slight aberration was caused by the window tax; but this was only temporary. All the later developments of architecture, especially of civil and domestic architecture, show more strongly than

ever the tendency to an increase of window-light. Whenever an old casement in our streets is altered, it is only to be enlarged, and to exchange its dull glass and leads and saddle-bars, for the largest and clearest sheet possible.

some valuable documentary evidence, and something more may be added from inspection.

HISTORY FROM DOCUMENTS.

Their immediate prototypes were the windows of Henry VII.'s chapel, at the east end of Westminster Abbey. We gather this from a contract, dated 1526, for completing the general work of King's College Chapel, which, among other things, provides that "the windows are to be set up with good, clean, sure and perfect glass, and orient colours, and imagery of the story of the old and new law, after the form, manner, curiosity, and cleanness in every point of the King's new chapel in Westminster." Here is doubtless a reference to the then existing windows of Henry VII.'s chapel, Westminster Abbey.

These have long since perished, but there are sufficient traces left to show that the clerestory lights (the lower windows being too irregular in plane to admit of pictorial glass) were once filled as here intimated. I allude, of course, to the remains in the tracery; but more particularly to a figure still to be seen in the east window of Henry VII.'s chapel, vulgarly called Henry himself; but which, by the aid of a glass, resolves itself into the prophet Jeremiah, under a canopy, holding a scroll, and altogether a match for the "Messengers" in the chapel at Cambridge.

I mention this, not only because it is in direct genealogical connection with our subject, but because it is a curious instance of reflex light being thrown upon a collection of glass, once important as a standard in the kingdom, but now so far lost, that its very existence might otherwise be questioned.

But, to proceed: the foundation stone of this chapel was laid under the Clare Hall tower, on St. James's day, 1446; but owing to the wars of the roses and other interruptions, the shell was not completed until the 29th of July, 1515, or the seventh year of Henry VIII.

The following year witnessed the commencement of the glass.

This is noted in an indenture dated Feb. 15, 1516, made between the executors of Henry VII. and the provost of the college:—

The order is simply "to glaze all the windows of the said chapel, with such images, stories, arms, badges, and other devices, as it shall be devised by the said executors."

These words are sufficiently identical with those of the will of Henry VII. relating to his chapel at Westminster;⁴ and since only seven or eight years had elapsed, and the executors were nearly the same, it is probable that they hastened to employ the same hands on the glass of the building just committed to their charge.

This matter might be cleared up had we the first contract for the college chapel glass, but this has unfortunately been lost.

From the second contract, however, already named, (dating April 1526,) we learn that Barnard Flower was the original contractor for the Cambridge windows; and since he alone is at first employed on so large an undertaking, it seems altogether likely that he was the popular man of his day, and possibly had been the painter of the Westminster windows.

But be that as it may, we know that he was selected and engaged to do sundry work here, in terms carefully recounted in the second contract; that he had been for several years at this work; and had just died, leaving a certain amount of glass finished and ready to be put up. We shall presently consider what this legacy was.

The next contractors were Galyon Hone, Richard Bounde, Thomas Reve, and James Nicholson.

These men bind themselves to three things: first, to put up what Barnard Flower, "lately deceased," had left ready to be put up; secondly, to execute eighteen windows more themselves, including the east and west windows; and thirdly, to furnish cartoons or vidimuses, as they were called, for the four remaining windows of the chapel.

With the exception of the west window, never executed,⁵ and therefore reducing the number to seventeen, we may

⁴ "And the windows of our said chapel, to be glazed with stories, images, arms, badges, and cognisants as is by us already devised, and in picture (pattern) delivered to the Prior of St. Bartholomew's, beside Smithfield, master of the works of our said chapel." This will is dated Richmond, March 31, 1509. Henry VII. died on the 21st of the next month.

⁵ There is nothing to lead us to suppose that this window has ever been filled with stained glass. The tracery of a destroyed window generally retains some patches of colour, but there is not a particle to be observed here. Moreover, the College records, I understand, while noting the injury done to the *side* windows, make no mention of the west window at all.

suppose this engagement to have been faithfully carried out.

The last contracting parties were Fraunces Williamson and Symond Symonds, who in the succeeding month of the same year, covenant to execute the four remaining windows just named, according to the patterns supplied to them by the superior artists.

The proper sequence of these latter contracts should be observed ; for Walpole, by placing the last first, has fallen into the mistake of giving a share of the credit of *designing*, to those who manifestly were not to be entrusted with that important branch of the business.

The honour of designing these windows undoubtedly belongs in the first place to Barnard Flower, and in the second place to Hone, Bounde, Reve and Nicholson. And here we observe as an interesting fact, that all those names are English ;⁶ and further, that these establishments—there are six distinct establishments—are all specified as being in London.

We may, therefore, I think, fairly claim these windows, both in respect of design and workmanship, as genuine productions of British art.

This is a valuable addition to similar testimony, gleaned from the accounts of St. Stephen's chapel,⁷ in the reign of Edward III. ; and of the York and Warwick windows ; to name no more, altogether dissipating the common doubt as to whether painted glass was ever a regular manufacture of this country.

Other important particulars to be gathered from these contracts are :—first, that the glass must date from 1516 to 1530-2 ; omitting, of course, the relics in the north chapels, which cannot be less than half-a-century older ; but of which no account is preserved.

Again, we find that we are indebted to Henry VII. and his executors, and not to Henry VI., as Dyer states, nor yet to Henry VIII., as is more commonly supposed, for the gift and completion of these magnificent windows.

⁶ Hone's name, it has been objected, should stand "Hoon" which is Dutch. This is true as far as the body of the contract goes, but the man always signs himself "Hone." I observed also, when kindly permitted to inspect the original documents, a short time since, that the

first intention was to have had good "Normandy" glass ; but that in every instance the word Normandy has been erased. We may infer from this, that not only the men, but their materials, were British.

⁷ Smith's Antiquities of Westminster.

Henry VIII. supplied the rood-screen and interior fittings of the chapel, but his wealthy and superstitious father had already provided for the glass.

This circumstance, by the way, accounts for the profusion of memorials relating to Henry VII. which these windows contain, though executed, as we see, some time after that prince's death.

We further learn that the royal executors left the devising and ordering of the glass, that is, I suppose, the choice of subjects and the supervision of the vidimuses, to a select committee, consisting of the Provost Hacomblen assisted by William Holgylle, clerk and master of the Savoy, London, and Thomas Larke, Archdeacon of Norwich. Of these three, since to the last two was referred the judgment of compensation in cases requiring a knowledge of art, of whom Larke was the general superintendent of the building in Cambridge; it remains that Holgylle, residing in London, where all the glass-work was executed, was the special manager of this department.

Finally, as to the distribution of the work; it is plain, that as there are twenty-five painted windows in the chapel, twenty-one of which may be sufficiently accounted for, it would appear that Barnard Flower had completed four windows ere he died, together (probably) with the glass in the heads or tracery of all the windows: but of this more hereafter.

Before dismissing the documentary part of our subject, it may be well to state, that these windows were condemned by the Long Parliament.

There is an entry of the commissioners in the Journals of the House to this effect:—"Dec. 26th, 1643; steps (altar-steps?) to be taken down; and a 1,000 superstitious pictures, the ladder of Christ, and thieves &c."

This was during the Provostship of Dr. Collins, ejected 1645. How it happened that our windows escaped during the intervening year, 44, we are not informed.

Possibly they were taken down, (it is certain they have all been down and releaded at some time or other;) but it is more likely that they remained in their places at the period we speak of, and that the superstitious pictures at the west end then sustained the serious damage they exhibit to this day, while the general scriptural character of the

rest,⁸ together with the opportune election of Dr. Whichcote (a moderate man), preserved them to us much as they are at present.

THEIR HISTORY FROM INSPECTION.

And now for a word or two as to what further historical information may be obtained from inspection. Omitting—as I said before—the glass in the north-east chapelries, and confining ourselves to the chapel itself, the oldest glass appears to be that over the north-west door. This window is unique as to age and style, partaking more of the Perpendicular aspect than anything in the chapel. If, therefore, it is one of Flower's four, he afterwards altered his style. Is it not more probable, that it was a purchase or present to the chapel, and executed by other hands?⁹ Next, we may safely conclude, that Flower fitted all the tracery lights of the windows; for first, it is highly probable that they would be inserted ere the scaffolding of the roof was removed. Again, they all appear to be the work of one hand, strongly contrasting, in this respect, with the variety of manipulation in the pictures below; and once more, among all the cognisances and initials with which they are crowded, there is no reference to Anne Boleyn, but only to Henry VII., and Elizabeth of York, or to Henry VIII. and Catherine. This, I imagine, would not have been the case had they been executed after 1526 (the date of the second contract) when the subject of the divorce was pending.

It is more difficult to decide upon the other contributions of Barnard Flower. But not to trouble ourselves with speculations, I will merely mention a key which I think can be used here with advantage; it is the east window. This window, we know, is *not* Flower's work, because it is specially contracted for after his death by Hone and his partners. Now in this window, the figures are on a large scale, and executed with much freedom and vigour.

Taking this, therefore, as a guide, we ought to be able to detect, not only its sixteen companions, but also the last four for which designs were furnished by one and the same party.

⁸ I have met with many cases of this kind of discrimination.

⁹ We find instances of the purchase of

ready-made windows in the reign of Edward III.; and this looks rather like an adapted window.

With regard to these last-named four, it is also worthy of notice, that they were to be placed "two on oon side, and two on the other side of the chapel." If this means vis-à-vis, here is a further key.

In this way, Flower's work might possibly be eliminated ; when it would, I conceive, be found to lie among the north-eastern windows, where the figures are on a smaller scale, and also in a somewhat earlier manner.

GENERAL ARRANGEMENT.

Having finished the history, we now pass on to consider the general arrangement of these windows. This is very simple when the clue is once perceived.

Generally speaking, each window contains four pictures, two above and two below the transom.

The lower tier is the one *in series*, being a regular chain of Gospel history, passing all round the chapel. It commences at the north-west corner, with the birth of the Virgin Mary, continues eastward through the various scenes of our Lord's active life, then takes up the Acts of the Apostles and concludes with the legends of St. Mary's death in the south-west corner. It has often occurred to me, whether these cycles (for they occur elsewhere) might not be in illustration of the ecclesiastical year, according to some "use" of the time ; but I could never identify them.

The upper tier consists of stories also, but not in any chronological order, being chosen out of the Old Testament, or the Apocrypha, simply on account of their correspondence respectively with those beneath, on the well-known principle of type and antitype.

There are a few exceptions to this arrangement, as in the first, or north-westernmost window, in the east window, and in those illustrating the Acts ; but the rule is as above-stated.

There seems nothing wrong in this plan of parallelism, except where it is superstitiously applied ; but, at any rate, it was a very favourite scheme of the mediæval artists : we meet with it in the catacombs of Rome ; in the *Biblia Pauperum* ; and there are few remains of *glass* without some traces of it.

It may be recognised in Canterbury, in Bourges, in the

accounts of St. Stephen's chapel, and of Horschau monastery ; at Fairford, at Liege, at Gouda. Moreover, in this way are to be explained such references to lost collections, as the following : "the windows contained the whole story, from the Creation to the Judgment."⁹ For it so happens that the Temptation of Eve, easily mistaken for the Creation (especially if, as in King's Chapel, the animals are scrambling out of the ground at the feet of our first mother) was the received type or correspondence of the Annunciation, one of the *first* subjects in the Gospel history.

But to return to our subject :—Care was always taken in this arrangement that the Crucifixion should fall into place at the east end of the church, and the Last Judgment at the west.

This was clearly the idea here, and had the west window been painted, it would probably have presented us with some such a combination of gorgeous colouring and gross superstitions as may be seen at Fairford to this day.

Perhaps it will be well to give a complete list of the subjects as they stand in the chapel.

Commencing then at the north-west corner and counting eastward, we have—

No. I.

Joachim's Offering refused by the High-priest.

Text.—"Angelus in"

(See Spurious Gospel of St. Matthew, or Birth of Mary, c. i.)

Joachim and Anna at the Golden Gate.

Text.—"Angelus in ens de ut decem."

(Spurious Gospel, c. iii.)

Joachim with the Shepherds.

Text.—" peperit Anna"

(Spurious Gospel, c. ii.)

Birth of the Virgin Mary.

Text.—" peperit Anna Mariam benedictam."

(Spurious Gospel, c. iv.)

No. II.

TYPE.

*Tobit's Offering to the Temple.*¹

Text.—"Mensa aurea oblata est in templo."

(No reference.)

ANTITYPE.

Mary presented at the Temple.

Text.—"Maria Domino oblata est in templo."

(See Spurious Gospel.)

TYPE.

Tobias' Marriage.

Text.—"Hic Sara desponsat Tobie."

(No reference.)

ANTITYPE.

Marriage of Joseph and Mary.

Text.—"Hic virgo Maria desponsat Josep."

(Spurious Gospel : Joseph holds the Budding Rod.)

⁹ So the windows of Lambeth chapel, in Laud's time are described, and a window of twenty-one lights, at Hengrave, Suffolk.

¹ Besides Tobit's dog, the young man

has a fishing-net on his shoulder. This identifies the subject, but the connection between the golden table and the Virgin Mary is beyond my comprehension.

No. III.

TYPE.

Temptation of Eve.

Text.—“præcepit nobis Deus ne comederemus et ne tangeremus illud ne forte moriamur.”—Gen. iii. (3).

ANTITYPE.

The Annunciation.

Text.—“En ! Bethleem, terra Juda, non eris minima in(ter) princip(es) . . .” (Reference gone ; probably to Matt. ii. 6.)

TYPE.

The Burning Bush.

Text.—“Apparuitque ei Dominus in flamma ignis de medio rubi : et videbat qd. rubus arderet et non combureretur.” Ex. iii. (2).

ANTITYPE.

Birth of Jesus Christ.

Text.—“Cum autem natus esset Jesus in Bethleem civitate Judeæ.”—Matt. ii. (1).

No. IV.

TYPE.

Institution of Circumcision.

Text.—“Vocavitque Abraham nomen filii sui quem genuit ei Sara, Isaac, et circumcidet eum octavo die.”—Gen. xxi. (3, 4).

ANTITYPE.

Circumcision of Jesus.

Text.—“Et postquam consummati sunt dies octo, ut circumcideretur puer, vocatum est nomen ejus Jesus.”—Luke ii. (21).

TYPE.

Queen of Sheba.

Text.—“Dedit ergo regi centum viginta talenta auri, et aromata multa nimis, et gemmas pretiosas.”—(2 Chron. ix. 9)

ANTITYPE.

The Wise Men's Offerings.

Text.—“Apertis thesauris suis obtulerunt illi munera aurum, thus, et myrrham.”—Matt. ii. (11).

No. V.

TYPE.

Purification of Women under the Law.

Text.—“Sanctifica mihi omne progenitum quod aperit vulvam in filiis Israel.”—Ex. xiii. (2).

ANTITYPE.

Purification of the Virgin Mary.

Text.—“Adduxerunt illum Hierosoly-ma ut sisterent eum domino : sicut scriptum est in lege Domini.”—Luke ii. (22, 23).

TYPE.

Jacob flying from Esau.

Text.—“Ecce Esau frater tuus minatur ut occidat te.”—Gen. xxvii. (42).

ANTITYPE.

Flight into Egypt.

Text.—“Surge, et accipite puerum et matrem illius, et fuge in Ægyptum, et esto illic donec dixerò tibi.”—Matt. ii. (13).

No. VI.

TYPE.

Moses Destroying the Tables of the Law.

Text.—“Iratissime valde projecit de manu tabulas et confregit eas.”—Ex. xxxii. (19).

ANTITYPE.

The Images of Egypt falling down before the infant Jesus.

Text.—“(Onus Ægypti ecce Dominus ascendit super (nubem) levem et ingreditur (Ægyptum) et commovebuntur simulacra Ægypti a facie ejus).”—Is. xix. (1).

TYPE.

Joash saved from Athaliah.

Text illegible. (This correspondence occurs in the Biblia Pauperum.)

ANTITYPE.

Herod's Massacre of the Innocents.

Text.—“Et missis satellitibus interfecit omnes pueros qui erant in Bethleem.”—Matt. ii. (16).

No. VII.

TYPE.

Naaman Washing in Jordan.

Text.—“Naaman leprosus septies lavit in Jordane . . . et mundatus est.”—4 Kings v (11).

TYPE.

Esau tempted to sell his Birthright.

Text.—“Ait Jacob, Jura ergo mihi. Juravit ei Esau, et vendidit primogenita.”—Gen. xxv. (33).

ANTITYPE.

The Baptism of Christ.

Text.—“Baptizatus autem Jesus, confestim ascendit de aqua, et ecce aperti sunt ei cœli, et vidit spiritum Dei.”—Matt. iii. (16).

ANTITYPE.

The Temptation of Christ.

Text.—“Et accedens tentator dixit ei, Si filius Dei es dic ut lapides isti panes fiant.”—Matt. iv. (13).

No. VIII.

TYPE.

The Triumph of David.

Text.—“(Assumens autem) David caput Philistinum attulit illud in Jerusalem.”—1 Sam. xvii. (54).

TYPE.

Elisha Raising the Shunamite's Son.

Text.—“Tolle filium tuum. Venit illa et corruit ad pedes, et adoravit super terram.”—4 Kings iv. (36).

ANTITYPE.

Christ's Entry into Jerusalem.

Text.—“Ecce Rex tuus venit sedens super pullum asinae.”—John xii. (15).

ANTITYPE.

Lazarus Raised from the Dead.

Text.—“Lazare, veni foras! Et prodidit qui fuerat mortuus.”—John xi. (43).

No. IX.

TYPE.

The Manna.

Text.—“Panem de cœlo præstitis eis.”—Wisdom xvi. (20).

TYPE.

The Fall of the Rebel Angels.

Text.—“Si ceciderint in terram a semitipsis non consurgent.”—Baruch vi. (26).

ANTITYPE.

The Last Supper.

Text.—“Desiderio desideravi hoc pascha comedere vobiscum antequam patiar.”—Luke xxii. (15).

ANTITYPE.

The Garden of Gethsemane and the Ministering Angel.

Text.—“Pater, si vis transfer poculum hoc a me.”—Luke xxii. (42).

No. X.

TYPE.

Cain killing Abel.

Text.—“Consurrexit Cain adversus fratrem suum Abel.”—Gen. iv. (8).

TYPE.

Shimei Cursing David.

Text.—“Egredere, egredere, vir sanguinum, et vir Belial.”—2 Sam. xvi. (7).

ANTITYPE.

Judas Betraying Christ.

Text.—“Dixit ave Rabbi, et oculatus est eum.”—Matt. xxvi. (49).

ANTITYPE.

Christ Mocked by the Soldiers.

Text.—“Velaverunt eum et percutiebant faciem ejus.”—Luke xxii. (64).

No. XI.

TYPE.

Jeremiah Imprisoned.

Text.—“Irati principes contra Jeremiam (cæsum) eum miserunt in carcerem.”—Jerem. xxxvii. (15).

TYPE.

Noah Drunken and Naked.

Text.—“Bibensque vinum inebriatus est et nudatus (in tabernaculo suo).”—Gen. ix. (21).

ANTITYPE.

Christ before Caiaphas.

Text.—“Si malo locutus sum (testimonium) perhibe de malo.”—John xviii. (23).

ANTITYPE.

Christ Stripped before Herod.

Text.—“Væ qui dicitis malum bonum, et bonum malum.”—Is. v. (20).

No. XII.

TYPE.

Job Vexed by Satan.

Text.—“Dominus dedit, Dominus abstulit; sit nomen Domini benedictum.”—Job i. (21).

TYPE.

Solomon Crowned.

Text.—“Egredimini et videte, filiae Zion regem Salomonem.”—Cant. iii. (11).

ANTITYPE.

Christ Scourged.

Text.—“Tunc ergo reprehendit Pilatus Jesum et flagellavit.”—John xix. (1).

ANTITYPE.

Christ Crowned with Thorns.

Text.—“Et milites plectentes coronam de spinis imposuerunt capiti ejus.”—John xix. (2).

No. XIII.

The Great East Window contains six pictures relating to the Crucifixion, without correspondences. Recommencing at the south-east corner and counting westward, we have :—

No. XIV.

TYPE.

(Some modern glass.)

Naomi and her Daughters.

Text.—“Ne vocetis me Naomi.”

ANTITYPE.

Christ Bemoaned.

Text.—“Quin et tuum ipsius animam penetrabit gladius.”—Luke ii. (35).

No. XV.

TYPE.

Joseph in the Pit.

Text.—“Et mittamus eum in cisternam veterem quare est in solitudine.”—Gen. xxxvii. (22).

ANTITYPE.

Christ laid in the Tomb.

Text.—“Posuit illud in monumento suo novo.”—Matt. xxvii. (60).

TYPE.

The Exodus.

Text.—“Eduxit Israel per turmas suas.”—Ex. xii. (51).

ANTITYPE.

*The Harrowing of Hell.*Text.—“Advenit te liberare Salvator mund(i) august”
(See Spurious Gospel of Nicodemus.)

No. XVI.

TYPE.

Jonah and the Whale.

Text.—“Evomuit Jonam in aridam.”—Jon. ii. (11).

ANTITYPE.

The Resurrection of Christ.

Text.—“Revolvitur lapidem et sedebat super eum.”—Matt. xxviii. (2).

TYPE.

Tobias returning to his Mother.

Text.—“Et illico agnovit venientem filium suum.”—Tobit xi. (6).

ANTITYPE.

*Christ appearing to his Mother.*Text.—“Salve, parens, enixa es puerpera regem qui cælum terramque regit.”
(No reference : see Golden Legend.)

No. XVII.

TYPE.

Reuben seeks Joseph in the Pit.

Text.—“Reversusque Reuben ad cisternam non invenit puerum.”—Gen. xxxvii. (29).

ANTITYPE.

The Women at the Sepulchre.

Text.—“Et valde mune a primo die (Sabbatorum) veniunt ad monumentum, orto sole.”—Mark xvi. (2).

TYPE.

*Daniel in the Lions' Den addressed by Darius.*Text.—“Venit autem rex.
Daniele, Daniele!”—Dan. vi. (30).

ANTITYPE.

Christ appearing to Mary Magdalene.

Text.—“Hic cum dixisset, conversa est retrorsum et vidit Jesum stantem.”—John xx. (14).

No. XVIII.

TYPE.

The Angel appears to Habbauc.

Text.—“Argentum et aurum non est mihi, qd. autem habeo hoc tibi do.”—Acts iii. (11).

(This text is a repetition of No. xxi.)

ANTITYPE.

Christ appearing to the two Disciples going to Emmaus.

Text.—“Viri Judei et qui habitatis Hierosolymis universi, hoc vobis notum est.”—Acts ii. (14).

(This text is a repetition of No. xxi.)

TYPE.

Habbauc feeds Daniel.

Text.—“Et illi quidam ibant gaudentes in conspectu consili.”—Acts v. (41).

(This text is a repetition of No. xxi.)

ANTITYPE.

Christ breaking bread at Emmaus.

Text.—“Quid atque convenit vobis tentare spiritum Domini.”—Acts v. (9).

(Text belongs to No. xxi.)

No. XIX.

TYPE.

Joseph meeting Jacob.

Text.—“Dixit Jacob ad Joseph : jam lætus moriar quia vidi faciem tuam.”—Gen. xli. (30).

ANTITYPE.

Christ appearing to the Disciples.

Text.—“Pax vobis, et cum hæc dixisset, ostendit eis manus et latus.”—John xx. (29).

TYPE.

The Prodigal Son.

Text.—“Pater, peccavi in cælum et coram te.”—Luke xv. (21.)

ANTITYPE.

The Unbelieving Thomas.

Text.—“Pax vobis ; deinde dixit Thomæ, infer digitum tuum huc et vide manus meas.”—John xx. (27).

No. XX.

TYPE.

Elijah's Ascent to Heaven.

Text.—“Cumque transissent, Helias dixit ad Eliseum.”—4 Kings ii. (9).

ANTITYPE.

Christ's Ascension.

Text.—“Qui est iste qui venit de Edom tinctis vestibus.”—Is. lxiii. (1).

TYPE.

The Law given to Moses.

Text.—“Videns autem populus quod moram faceret descendi de monte Moses.”—Ex. xxxii. (1).

ANTITYPE.

The Holy Spirit given to the Apostles.

Text.—“Spiritus Domini replevit orbem terrarum.”—Wisdom i. (7).

No. XXI.

Peter and John heal the Lame Man.

Text.—“Advenientes autem principes sacerdotum et omnes qui cum eo erant convocaverunt consilium.”—Acts v. (21).
(This text is misplaced.)

The Crowd following Peter into the Temple.

Text.—“Viri Judei et qui habitatis Hierosolymis universi hoc vobis notum sit.”—Acts ii. (14).

Imprisonment and Scourging of Peter and John.

Text.—“Et dimiserunt eos, et illi quidem ibant gaudentes a conspectu consilii.”—Acts v. (41).

Death of Ananias.

Text.—“Petrus autem dixit, argentum et aurum non est mihi, quod autem habeo, tibi do.”—Acts iii. (6).
(This text misplaced.)

No. XXII.

Conversion of St. Paul.

Text.—“Et subito circumfulsit eum lux de cælo et cadens in terram.”—Acts ix. (3, 4).

St. Paul and Barnabas at Lystra.

Text.—“(Sacerdos quoque Jovis qui erat ante civitatem) illorum tauros et coronas ad vestibula afferens cum turbis volebat (sacrificare).”—Acts xiv. (12).

St. Paul disputing with the Jews at Damascus.

Text.—“(Fuit autem) Saulus cum discipulis qui erant Damasci per dies aliquot.”—Acts ix. (19).

The Apostles assaulted at Iconium.

Text.—“Supervenerunt autem quidam ab Antiochia et Iconio Judei”—Acts xiv. (19).

No. XXIII.

St. Paul casting out the Spirit of Divination.

Text.—“Præcipio tibi in nomen Jesu Christi exire (ab) ea.”—Acts xvi. (18).

St. Paul parting from his Friends.

Text.—“Cum solutissimus igitur a Troade recto cursu venimus Samothracen.”—Acts xvi. (11).
(This is obviously a mistake for Acts xxi. 1).

St. Paul arraigned.

Text.—“Et apprehendentes Paulum trahebant eum extra templum.”—Acts xxi. (30).

St. Paul before Felix or Nero.

Text.—“Permissum est Paulo manere sibi cum custodiente se milite.”—Acts xxviii. (16).

I have now only to mention the arrangement of the last two windows, that is, the westernmost on the south side. These,

containing the conclusion of the Virgin Mary's history, have sustained irreparable injury, and are only intelligible after much patient study. They represent "the death of Mary," typified above by "the death of Tobit." The correspondence lies in this: that when Tobit and Mary were dying each of them sent for their sons. Hence both legends begin with words taken from the last chapter of the book of Tobit: "*In hora mortis vocavit filium suum.*" In the upper picture is seen the young Tobias with the Angel by his side; and in the lower, our Lord (with the labarum, or resurrection-standard in his hand) at the foot of his mother's bed.

Then follows in order, Mary's burial; this is typified above by "the burial of Jacob," with the legend: "*Josep tribus sepeliunt Jacob.*" The point of correspondence here must be, that (according to the spurious gospel) Mary, like Jacob, gave commandment concerning her burial. On this occasion a disturbance with the Pagan soldiery is said to have taken place, all of which is faithfully depicted on the glass.

The last window contains, on the left hand, "the Assumption of the Virgin," typified by "the apotheosis of an unknown saint" with a conspicuous pouch by his side.² On the right is "the Coronation of Mary," typified by the subject of Solomon placing Bathsheba on a throne at his side." The proximity of the small stone image of the Virgin in the rose to this window will now be understood.

I have dwelt a little upon these two windows, because the guide-book does not name them; indeed I believe this is the first time that either they or the first window, or any of the texts given above, have been described.

THE MESSENGERS.

Another part of the general arrangement worthy of note is the system of "messengers"—as they are called—in the central lights of all the side windows, ranged one over the other. Of these there are four to each window (ninety-four altogether in the chapel) holding scrolls with the texts of scripture to explain the subject of the pictures.

A similar arrangement occurs in the block books and

² This symbol might lead us to conjecture that it is Saint Nicholas, to whom the chapel was dedicated in conjunction

with Saint Mary. If an Old Testament subject, might it not be the Translation of Enoch?

illuminations of the period, and in many collections of glass.

We have already seen that this was the case with the windows of Henry VII.'s chapel, Westminster. In Fairford church the prophets face the apostles, and whilst the latter recite the Apostles' Creed amongst them, the former exhibit prophecies relating to the last judgment. Even Norman and Early English glass have traces of this explanatory method.

The messengers of King's consist of *two* classes, the one venerable figures like prophets, the other angels, with or without the nimbus.

This distinction I imagine was only made for the sake of variety ; for they follow no order, but illustrate indiscriminately an Old or New Testament subject, always observing, however, that two of each sort are attached to a window. To this seeming disorder there is but one exception, viz., in the windows illustrating the Acts of the Apostles, where six figures of St. Luke (with the bull at his feet) carry his own texts ; but even they share this honour with as many angels.

The demi-figures with wings are usually called St. Michael ; and the prophet Ezekiel may perhaps be distinguished by his dress. But it is plain that all symbolism, whether of colour or form, was by this time held with a very loose hand.

THE TEXTS.

The texts or legends are written in large Gothic characters, with the usual abbreviations, and sometimes having Lombardic capitals. The book and chapter are invariably marked according to the custom of the day.

The Old Testament quotations generally agree with the Vulgate, or with some of the scarcely dissimilar varieties of Jerome. But not so the quotations from the New Testament, which vary very much from any version (I have compared seven or eight) except that of Erasmus, especially his second edition, 1519. This coincidence taken in connection with the fact that Erasmus had not left Cambridge when our windows were begun, would favour the idea that the great reviver of learning as well as of morals has had a hand in these inscriptions. Such a thing would not be beneath him, professor though he was ; for we find him in the year 1515 receiving twenty shillings for drawing up an

epitaph for Margaret of Richmond's tomb in Westminster Abbey.

THEIR VALUE AS WORKS OF ART.

But, besides being curiously and historically interesting, these windows are truly invaluable as works of art. They offer altogether the best and almost only examples of an English historical school of painting. As marble was the material of Greece, and fresco of Italy, so glass is certainly the material and surface upon which our native genius has expended itself. Define a school of high art as you may, what is there in this kingdom, we ask, in point of scale, of quantity, or of merit (and that under considerable disadvantages), to compare with the collections of glass in our cathedrals and churches, to say nothing of scattered remnants and of demolished glass. Surely nothing formerly done in the way of illuminations or woodcuts, or latterly in the way of oils, can claim such a title? But here (to confine ourselves to this single specimen) are at least one hundred gigantic pictures, retaining much of their original vigour, and executed at the revival of art in Europe, and in rivalry of the great Italian school itself.

That I am not speaking without warrant, hear Vandyke's opinion of the Fairford glass, far inferior to this in respect of historic merit: "He often affirmed to the king (Charles I.) that many of the figures in the Fairford windows were so exquisitely done that they could be exceeded by no pencil."³

Walpole also remarks of these very windows of King's chapel, that "the artists who executed them would figure as considerable painters in any reign," adding, in true antiquarian spirit, "and what a rarity, in a collection of drawings, would be one of their vidimuses!"

But an example is worth a thousand recommendations. For this purpose I would beg to point out the two figures on horseback, one in profile, the other a three-quarter face, conversing together in the lower right-hand subject of the great east window. Nothing can be more full of expression and individual character than the countenances, or more easy than the composition of these figures. And here let me explain one of the difficulties which our glass painters had to contend with in making their designs. Each bay or light is divided both

³ Cooke's Topography of Gloucestershire.

vertically and horizontally by iron bars ; that is to say, the cartoon, ere the design was commenced, had to be marked off like a gridiron ; and then every head and hand was brought into one or other of the divisions ! Sometimes, in older glass, this may be mentioned as an apology for stiff necks and other contortions ; but here it is only another matter of astonishment and praise, when we find how well the difficulty has been overcome. And does not this peculiarity of conformation (together with the necessarily high pitch of the horizon line in all old glass designs) prove their *originality*,—another point of merit in any work of art ? ⁴ “The Christ” likewise, “bearing his cross,” in this window, has a fine face, quite of the Spanish school.

Another example of the historic merit of King's chapel windows is the well-known figure of Ananias, in the window on the south side of the chapel nearest the organ-loft. The ghastliness of the face is exceedingly well done, and will repay an examination through a glass.

Lastly, as a piece of difficult, but most graceful design, observe the apotheosis of the unknown saint in the last window in the south-west corner in the upper left-hand compartment.

Upon the whole, though there are doubtless many inferior parts and a considerable amount of mutilation and displacement, and some still later damage, yet these windows must ever be acknowledged to offer a truly wonderful collection of designs and details, worthy of a high place (yea, I submit, in the absence of anything more worthy, of the highest place) in our kingdom of historical art.

The men who painted them were not mere vitrifiers or glaziers, but artists in a high sense of the term.

Refreshed from the fountains which Michael Angelo and Raffaello had just opened to the world, they approached their material with no mean ideas or trembling hands ; their arms seem to have forgotten the trammels of lead and of arming, and to have swept over the glass with grand and flowing lines, that can scarcely be outdone, and every bold contrast of colour and composition. To brilliant lights and colours, such as no other kind of painting can approach to, they have added a manly vigour of conception that never seems to flag.

⁴ I should add here, that this “*a priori*” supposition is fully sustained by an examination of the windows before us.

No plagiarism but that of subject and conventional treatment can be brought against them.

Observe, too, how well they tell a story ! In choosing a subject, instead of invading the province of poetry or of the histrionic art (the vice of modern painters) they seize upon some stirring incident, like that of the Hampton Court cartoons ; and then narrate it to the eye both simply and earnestly, and (conventionalisms apart) with astonishing truth to nature. This shows power of mind as well as of hand.

But I hasten to offer a few remarks upon the manufacture of these windows.

The ironwork—or arming—is very heavy, a “defence,” as the contracts need scarcely tell us, “against great winds and outrageous weatherings.” Besides the vertical bars on the outside, there are saddle-bars within, seven inches apart, one being missed or bent occasionally, to avoid cutting a face or any material part of a figure. It is a question, whether we attend enough to the arming of our windows now-a-days. Time only can prove ; but certain it is, that this cobweb of iron bars—some of them an inch square—have only just sufficed to preserve their charge for three centuries.⁵

The glass itself is all perfectly transparent, except where it is shaded, and even the shadows are stipple-shaded, that is, made as diaphanous as possible. In this respect the windows under review agree with all old glass. It remained for later times to think of obscuring glass with enamels or dirt. Our modern obscurists would do well, I think, to bear in mind that the contractors for these windows were especially bound to supply “clean” glass.

The specific tint is slightly warm or golden, being indeed only the white glass of the day, as may still be seen in old cottages. But it is observable that this tint or basis underlies and affects all the colours, as well as the white glass, subduing the blue, for instance, and enriching the ruby. Here is an important hint, I imagine, on the general harmony of any window which may hope to vie with old glass. The cathedral tint—as the manufacturers term it—ought to pervade *all* the colours.

Some very successful attempts have been made lately to prepare raw glass in this way. But for myself (if I may be allowed to offer an opinion) I believe we shall eventually come to the glass of commerce—the glass of the day. We ought,

⁵ Professor Willis has recommended an extra sheet of plate glass on the outside, in lieu of “arming.” This may

answer very well on a small scale, but could hardly be applied to such a building as that before us.

indeed, only to be too thankful that it is so pure and good as it is ; and I feel persuaded that we shall be doing better by giving attention to the essential principles of the art, than to the recovery of this or that tint, which our ancestors were constantly changing, and always—it appears to me—with the hope and determination of getting rid of it altogether.

The flesh in King's chapel windows is stained with iron,⁶ which allows of its being transparent also, another point not to be overlooked in pictorial glass-work ; for it is plain that the flesh, constituting, as it does, the prominent parts of the picture, is a sort of key-note to the whole : if this is dulled with enamels of any kind, the entire window has to be dulled too. Thus the glass is shorn of its glory, its brightness, its first essential property, without which it is turned into a mere transparency or blind, quite out of place in a window made on purpose for the admission of *light*.

The colours used in this chapel are very varied ; several shades, particularly of purple and green, producing delightful associations with the more positive colours.

The colour, moreover, varies in depth on the same piece of glass. Many effects of sky, foliage, and drapery, are thus skilfully imitated. This difference of shade, in the present instance, depends, I observe, upon the thickness of the glass. But I believe the great charm of these windows lies in their restricted and careful use of colour ; quite three-fourths, in some cases seven-eighths of the whole surface, being white glass, or white glass shaded. This reservation gives intense value, by contrast, to the colours employed, greatly reducing their gaudiness, and enhancing their depth.

And then the colour that *is* used is collected into nose-gays, as it were, and not spotted or diluted by being spread over the picture. This is bold treatment, no doubt, but it is very successful here, particularly in the three windows on the north side of the chapel, illustrating the Acts of the Apostles ; and, I doubt not, would be with us also, if we could induce our artists, or rather their patrons, once to reflect that there may be too much of a good thing.

⁶ I was fortunate enough, three or four years ago, after a number of experiments, to succeed in recovering the cinque-cento flesh stain. Its value lies in dispensing

with a flux of any sort. I may, perhaps, be allowed to say, that Mr. Winston fully approves of it.

It is a curious fact, in the history of painted glass in this country, that, from first to last, there has been a growing tendency to reduce the quantity of colour. It may, perhaps, be explained thus :—the art was imported (say during the sixth or seventh centuries) from southern countries, whence it came glowing with colour suited to the richness of those skies, and necessary to obscure some of their light.

But this exuberance was soon found inappropriate and inconvenient here ; hence arose, in the first place, the white pattern windows of our various styles, and then the gradual but general preponderance of white glass over colour, which we speak of.

I had some more remarks to make on the manipulation of these windows ; but, as they are purely technical, they may be spared in a paper of this sort.

Such are a few of the ideas naturally suggested to the student of King's chapel windows ; and nothing shows, I think, more clearly the intimate and interesting connection there is between archaeological reviews and our future progress in art.

Here is an art, the art of glass painting, which must, in the nature of things, ever be popular in this country. It is, in fact, just the ornamented state of a material, the use of which is increasing every day among us.

How necessary, then, that it should be securely grounded and rightly directed ! And what so useful for this purpose as the experience of the past ; those first principles obtained from a survey of long periods together, and the comparison of various styles ?

At the same time, we see the folly of going back to ancient times, when circumstances were so different, and taking thence, in too slavish a manner, our model, either of architecture, or of any of its parts.

Eternal principles of taste of course there are, and principles based upon climate, materials, and habits, equally binding ; but their application should ever be left to the independent impulses of genius, under the direction of present exigences, and of the ever-shifting, but, no doubt, necessary and happy effects of time and providence. For light of this kind, and on an art so easily abused, it seems to me we cannot be too thankful.

Original Documents.

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE DEAN AND CHAPTER OF ST. PAUL'S, LONDON, AND WALTER THE ORGONER, OF SOUTHWARK, RELATING TO A CLOCK IN ST. PAUL'S CHURCH. DATED NOVEMBER 22, 1344.

(COTTONIAN CHARTER, XXI. 24.)

COMMUNICATED BY SIR FREDERIC MADDEN, K.H.

Ceste endenture tesmoigne, qe convenuz est parentre le Dean et le Chapitre de leglise de Saint Pool de Londres, dune part, et Wauter Lorgoner de Suthwerke, dautre part, cestassaver, qe le dit Wauter ferra une dyal en lorloge de mesme leglise, od rooss¹ et totes maneres de ustimentz appartenantz al dit Dyal, et au tourner del Angel par amunt² lorloge, issint qe le dit Orloge soit bon et covenable et profitable a monstren les heures de jour et de nuyt a durer sauntz defaute, et en cas qe defaute soit trove apres ces heures en le dit Orloge, le dit Wauter se oblige par ceste endenture de faire les adresces³ totefoiz, quant il serra garni par les ministres de leglise. Et pur ceste overaigne bien et leument parfaire et aecomplir, les avantditz Dean et Chapitre luy ferront payer sis livres desterlinges, cest assaver, au commencement cessaunt soutz, et quant le Dyal serra prest de mettre sus, trent souz, et a la parfesaunce de tote loveryne, *cest assaver a la quinzeme de Paske preschein a venir* (interlined), trent soutz. Et le dit Wauter trouvera a ses coustages ferre, arresme,⁴ et totes manere dautre choses a la dit overeyne parfaire, et avera de vere luy les veuz ustimentz qe ne volunt⁵ plus servir. Et pur cele overeyne faire bien et leument le dit Wauter sei oblige et ses heirs et ses executours et touz ces biens. Et pur seurte de cele overeyne parfaire bien et leument, Nichole Peautrer de Lodegate, Stephene Peautrer del Cunditte, Johanne Barbir, Sergeaunt de mesme leglise, Thomas Barneby, archer sur le Pount de Londres, sount devenuz ses plegges, et soi obligent et lour heirs et lour executours et touz lour biens, ou qilz soient trovetz. En testmoignaunce de quele chose al une partie de ceste endenture de vers le dit Wauter, le dit Dean et le Chapitre unt mis lour seals, a lautre partie de vers caus lesse, les ditz Wauter, Nichole et Stephene, Johan et Thomas ount mis lour seals. Done a Loundres, le Samadi le jour de Saint Edmund le Roi et Martire, lan du regne le Roi Edward tierz del conquete dyssuittime. [22nd Nov., 1344.]

The present deed was the counterpart remaining with the Dean and Chapter, and of the five seals originally attached to it only two remain, and these in a damaged condition. They are the fourth and fifth in order, and may have been borrowed by the parties executing the indenture. On the

¹ *i. e. Roucs*, wheels.

² *Par-amont*, en haut. Roquefort.

³ *Adresce*, repairs. *Adressier*, recon-

struire, reparer. Roquefort.

⁴ *Airain*, brass.

⁵ *For valent*.

first is a shield bearing the letter S, through which is a cross fitchée, which rises above the shield, and has three wavy lines proceeding from it, like a pennon. Part of the seal is broken off, but the portion of the legend that remains, read—SSIEL HAN STRAVNGE. On the second seal is a rude representation of the Crucifixion, with the legend IESVS NA[Z]ARENV[S].

The deed is indorsed in a contemporary hand, *Indentura de factura Orilogii*. In transcribing it, the contractions have been written at length.

In connexion with the early history of clocks, I may take the present occasion to add a few other particulars, which have fallen under my notice in documents preserved at the British Museum. F.M.

Add. Charter, 4265.

Jehan de Menelix, master of the works to the Duke of Orleans, certifies, that Thinomas Rogeret, "constellier et ouvrier de forge," had made "le Reloige⁶ de Chasteauneuf, cestassavoir, les mouvemens, roes et roez, et apparten' au dit Reloige, exepté la Cloiche," for the sum of 36 gold crowns. Dat. 13 May, 1396.

Add. Charter, 4264.

Pierre le Queux, "Orlaueur," acknowledges the receipt of 30 gold crowns, at 18 solz each, from Godeffroy le Fevre, valet of the chamber of the Duke of Orleans, "pour la vente de trois Auloiges." Dat. 22 Dec., 1396.

Add. Charter, 1397.

Robert Dorigny, "fevre," acknowledges the receipt of 9 livres tournois "pour avoir descendu et mis par membres le mouvement de l'Orloge qui estoit en l'ostel de Mons. le Duc à Asnière, et yeellui conduit et fait admener à ses fraiz à Villers Costeret," by order of the Duchess. Dat. 7 Oct., 1397.

Add. Charter, 4291.

Jehan Dalemaige, "serrurier," of Paris, acknowledges the receipt of 66 sols Paris, from the receiver of the finances of the Duchess of Orleans, "pour un mouvement ou petite Orloge achaté de lui pour mettre en la chambre de ma dite Dame." Dat. 9 Aug., 1401.

Add. Charter, 4454.

Jehan Lieboure, "faiseur d'Orloges," at Paris, acknowledges the receipt of 55 solz tournois from the receiver-general of the Conte d'Angoulesme, "pour deux roes et autres choses par lui mises pour l'Orloge de mon dit Seigneur." Dat. 19 Dec., 1407.

The Agreement, for which we are indebted to Sir Frederic Madden, is the only evidence, as far as we can ascertain, regarding the ancient clock at St. Paul's. Dugdale, in his History of that cathedral church, briefly mentions the dial belonging to the clock, "concerning which there was care taken in 18 Edw. III., that it should be made with all splendor that might be; which was accordingly performed, having the image of an Angell, pointing at the hour both of the day and night. *Ex autog. penes* Eliam Ashmole." Dugdale, p. 22, orig. edit. 1658. It appears probable that the document referred to may have been the counterpart of that now in the Cottonian collection, namely, that which remained in the hands of Walter the Orgoner. Sir F. Madden is not aware that any of Ashmole's MSS. came into the Cottonian collection, and observes that the charter given above formed part, probably, of Sir Robert Cotton's library in the time of James I., previously to the period when Dugdale wrote.

It may be concluded that there had existed a clock in St. Paul's some

⁶ Roquefort gives "Reloge: horloge, cadran." Relogium, Additions to DuCange.

time previous to the date of this document, since Walter was permitted to take for himself the old works (*ustiments*) no longer serviceable. We are moreover indebted to the kindness of the Ven. Archdeacon of London for an extract from the *Compotus Bracerii* of St. Paul's, A.D. 1286, in which the allowances to "Bartholomeo Orologiario" are entered, namely, of bread, at the rate of a loaf daily, for three-quarters of a year and eight days, 281 *panes*. "Item, Bartholomeo orolog', post adventum Willelmi Pikewell, 23 bott." (*Botta, butta, Lagena*, Duc. a liquid measure, probably of beer.)

The earliest *horologium* of which we have any account in this country is that stated to have been constructed in 1288, 16 Edw. I., in the clock-house near Westminster Hall; it was memorable, according to Selden, as having been the result of a fine imposed on the Chief Justice, Ralph de Hengham. One of the most ancient clocks now existing in England is that to be seen in Wells Cathedral: it was made by Peter Lightfoot, a monk of Glastonbury, at the expense of Adam de Sodbury, Abbot of that house, 1322-35. It was removed to Wells from the abbey church of Glastonbury, at the suppression. A representation of this remarkable horloge is given in Phelps' Hist. of Somerset, vol. ii. p. 66. See also Warner's Hist. of Glastonbury, pl. ix. Above the dial, it may be observed, there is a turret, round which four mounted knights revolve, when set in motion by a communication with the clock. This may possibly serve to explain the expression in the agreement communicated by Sir F. Madden,—"*au tourner del Angel par amunt lorloge.*"

Another memorable production of early skill in clockmaking was the horloge called Albion, in St. Alban's Abbey Church, one of the gifts of Richard de Wallingford, abbot, 1326-34. Representations of the abbot and his clock may be seen in Cott. MSS. Claud. E. IV. and Nero, D. VII. It seems to have continued to go as late as the time of Leland, who gives an account of it in his treatise de Scriptoribus Britannicis, vol. i. p. 28.

Mr. Octavius Morgan suggests, with much probability, that the clock at St. Paul's, for which Walter the Orgoner constructed "*une dyal*," may have previously been one which struck the hours, but was not furnished with a face; and he observes, that such a clock, of the early part of the XVth century, is now at Leeds Castle, Kent. This has the movement and striking part complete, but no dial-works or face. We may here express the hope, that Mr. Morgan may speedily complete for publication the History of Clock and Watchmaking, from the earliest times, a desideratum in archaeological literature which no one is so highly qualified to supply.

As a contribution towards the materials for so desirable an object, the following extracts from the Sacrist's Rolls, preserved amongst the archives of the Dean and Chapter at Norwich, may here be appended to the valuable information which we owe to the kindness of Sir F. Madden. The earliest entry which has been noticed in the Rolls at Norwich is in 1322.

"Horolog'.—In uno plate de metallo empto iv. d. ob., in sound' empto xvi. d.¹ in factura v. ymaginum xx. s. Item, garcioni facienti capit' iij. s.

⁷ See also Newcome's Hist. of St. Albans, p. 250. It is said that the abbot, who was the son of a blacksmith, and attained to great proficiency in science at Oxford, had begun early in life to construct this clock, and resumed his work through the encouragement of Edward III. Mr. Clutterbuck, in his account of it, Hist. of

Herts, vol. i. p. 28, states that it was completed by Laurence Stokes, in the time of Abbot de la Mare, 1350-96.

¹ Doubtless the sounds or swimming bladders of fish, used as size either to temper colours, to form priming for the ground, &c. In the accounts relating to the Painted Chamber frequent mention

In stipendiis Magistri Roberti xxx. s.” Andrew and Roger, carpenters, are also mentioned as employed at this period; the total of the expenditure, between Michaelmas and Christmas, amounted to 4*l.* 19*s.* 8½*d.*

In the *Compotus* of 1323, several entries occur under the head *Orologium*.—Payments of wages to Andrew the carpenter, to Robert, to Roger de Stoke; with the following payment for the latter,—“pro cariagio pannorum et instrumentorum ejus, viij. s.—In uno hose de Latoun, iiij. s. vij. d. q^a. Item, magistro Ade sculptori pro factura xxiiij. parvarum ymaginum, xj. s. Item, in cc. lapidibus de Cadamo, xxij. s. Item, Johanni fabro pro opere ferri ad orologium, iij. s. ix. d. Item, lib’ Roberto de Turri pro factura magni laminis, x. s. et tantum in perdicione quia pro paupertate non potuit opus perficere nec aliquid ab eo exigi. Summa, vi. li. xij. s. ix. d. q^a.”

The Roll of the following year is not to be found.

The *Compotus* of the year 1325 comprises the following entries:—

“Expense Orologii.—Item, in cc. et dimid’ Bord’ emptis, xlvij. s. Item, in cariagio ejusdem, xvj. d. Item, in x. lapidibus nomine *Gobet*² cum cariagio, vij. s. ij. d. Item, in stipendio unius cementarii circa fundum orologii, iij. s. viij. d. Item, in meremio ad curbas, xvij. d. Item, in ferro empto, xvj. s. ix. d. ob. Item, in opere ferri, xvij. s. v. d. Item, in ere empto, xvj. s. iij. d. Item, in uno lamine cupreo, vj. d. Item, in factura lune cum pictura et deauratura, x. s. Item, in uno lamine cupreo cum deauratura ad solem, xj. d. Item, in ij. tenuibus laminibus eris, xv. d. Item, in instrumentis et emendacione instrumentorum, x. d. Item, in cordis ad orologium, ij. s. vij. d. ob. Item, in factura xxx. ymaginum, xlvij. s. iiij. d. Item, in meremio ad quasdam ymagines, ij. s. j. d. Item, in pictura choree monachorum in grosso, xij. s. iiij. d. Item, in albo et rubeo plumbo, foliis argenti, oleo³ et coloribus ad ceteras ymagines, x. s. viij. d. ob. Item, in pictura dialis interioris et tabule sub diali exteriori, ix. d. Item, in v^c auri cum cariagio de London’, xxj. s. vj. d. Item, in xxv. foliis auri, xij. d. Item, in pictura barellorum, xvj. d. quia bis. Item, in stipendio pictoris et garcionis sui per xij. septimanas et ij. dies, capientis per diem viij. d. per septimanam ix. s. vj. d. et non plus quia steterunt in mensa domini.⁴ Item, in magno lamine ad diale, iiij. li. vij. s. videlicet iiij^{xx} vij. li. metalli pro totidem solidis. Item, in cariagio ejusdem laminis de London’ apud Norwyceum, vii. s. Item, in expensis diversorum garcionum diversis vicibus London’ missorum pro predicto lamine, v. s. viij. d. Item, in ferro empto, iij. s. Item, datum cuidam operatori nomine Roberto de Turry ad predictum lamen faciendum, in partem solucionis, xvij. s., in cujus manibus totum opus periit, et ita depauperatus x. solidos restituit et octo amittuntur quia nichil habuit in bonis. Item, pacatum cuidam operatori apud London’ in partem solucionis ad predictum lamen faciendum, vij. s. Item, cuidam alio sub simili pacto, v. s. qui ambo totum quod fecerunt perdiderunt et nichil propter eorum egestatem potuit ab eis exigi. Item, in expensis magistri Rogeri, garcionis et equi sui, propter predictum lamen London’ missi, iij. s. j. d. Item, in cariagio rerum de London’ xij. d. Item, in

occurs of “cole” (Fr. *colle*, glue), as also in those concerning St. Stephen’s Chapel, the *novum opus* at Ely, in 1339, &c. In the Ely account is the item—“4 buss’ de scrowes pro Cole faciend’”, 13*l.*” These were probably cuttings of parchment or skin. Archaeol. vol. ix. p. 153.

The Promptorium gives—“Gobet, lumpe, fractum, naua, Gobet of a thyng

kutte, scissura. Gobet of a brokyn thyng, fragmen.”

³ The express mention of oil for the preparation of pigments is not undeserving of notice.

⁴ The painter and his assistant had their board at the table of the Lord Prior, and on that account a reduction was made in their wages.

factura cimbalarum, xvj. s. ix. d. Item, in viij. cimbaliis parvis emptis a quadam veniente de Cantuar',⁵ ij. s. viij. d. Item, pro una lapide pro cimbaliis emendandis, vj. d. Item, in Batellulis ad cimbaliis, vj. d. Item, in ferro et factura ferri, xx. s. Item, in clavis, ij. s. v. d. Item, in opere ferri, ix. s.

Stipendia cum Robis.—In stipendio Roberti Orologiarii pro iiij. terminis, xl. s. Item, in roba ejusdem cum furure, xvj. s. Item, in garneamento dato filio suo, iiij. s. Item, in stipendio Andree carpentarii per xxiiij. septimanas, capientis per septimanam vj. d., xiiij. s. Item, in stipendio ejusdem per vj. septimanas, capientis per septimanam ut supra, iij. s. vj. d. Item, in stipendio J. de Belawe per xij. septimanas, viij. s., qui comp' viij. d. per septimanam. Item, in stipendio magistri Rogeri Orologiarii per ij. annos et xj. septimanas, vj. li. qui cepit per septimanam x. d. Item, in stipendio Laurencii Orologiarii per ij. annos, lxix. s. iiij. d. qui cepit per septimanam viij. d. Item, in roba magistri Rogeri primi anni, cum furur', xix. s. vj. d. Item, in robis Rogeri et Laurencii secundi anni, cum furur', xxxiiij. s. vj. d. Item, in robis eorundem tercii anni cum furur', xxxiiij. s. viij. d. Item, in oblacionibus eorundem per totum tempus, v. s. vj. d. Summa, xl. li. xvj. s. ob."

By the foregoing extracts it appears that the *Orologium* at Norwich was an elaborate piece of mechanism, furnished with many painted images, which doubtless performed surprising evolutions, like the twelve knights issuing from small windows in the *horologium* described as sent by Aaron, king of the Persians, to Charlemagne; (*Annales Francorum*, A.D. 807.) There were such *automata* connected with the Glastonbury clock, above mentioned, as also in the celebrated piece of mechanism at Strasburgh. At Norwich there was a set of 24 small images, the work of Master Adam the sculptor, probably personifying the hours of the day and night. There were also 30 images, doubtless representing the days of the month; painted and gilded plates portraying the sun and moon, &c. A painted *chorea monachorum*, or procession of monks, formed part of this curious mechanical pageantry. A large metal plate for the dial was procured from London, apparently with some difficulty, numerous messages having been despatched thither regarding it by various *garçiones*. This *lamen*, which weighed 87 lbs., was evidently a complicated and very elaborate work, engraved possibly with a multiplicity of lines indicating the movements of the heavenly bodies. The construction was obviously attended with no ordinary difficulties; Master Robert de Turri failed in the attempt, and two artificers from London who succeeded in his place were equally unsuccessful. The works appear to have been in progress during three years, and besides iron-work, brass, copper, and "latoun," a considerable amount was expended in carpenters' work, decorations in colours, enriched with gold and silver foil, &c. Two hundred pieces of Caen stone, and ten of stone termed "Gobetz," were employed, possibly in the construction of the base upon which the clock was fixed; (*fundum orologii*.) The position which it occupied in the church is not, as far as we are aware, now to be ascertained.

A. W.

⁵ The pilgrims to the shrine of St. Thomas appear to have furnished themselves with small bells, in the manufacture of which, probably, Canterbury had some celebrity. In the examination of William Thorpe by Archbishop Arundel, in 1407, as related by himself, it is said that some pilgrims indulged in wanton songs, others

would have bagpipes—"so that in everie towne that they come through, what with the noise of their singing, and with the sound of their piping, and with the jangling of their Canterburie bells"—more noise was made than if the king came that way. Wordsworth, *Eecl. Biogr.* vol. i. p. 168.

Proceedings at the Meetings of the Archaeological Institute.

February 3, 1855.

WILLIAM HENRY BLAAUW, Esq., F.S.A., in the Chair.

The Rev. H. M. SCARTH communicated further notices of the Roman inscription found at Bath, and represented in this Journal, see p. 90, *ante*. A discussion ensued, in which Mr. Franks, who had recently examined the original, now in the Museum of the Bath Institution, stated the grounds of his conviction that the tablet should be assigned to the reign of Elagabalus. The inscription, he observed, can only apply to Caracalla or Elagabalus; but it does not appear that the epithet *Invictus* was given to the former. There are, however, coins of Elagabalus on which he is thus styled. Mr. Franks thought that the inscription might have suffered mutilation in a slight degree, and the popular indignation which defaced or destroyed the memorials of that emperor, may possibly account for the occurrence of this tablet used as part of the cover of a sepulchral cist.

Mr. WESTWOOD observed that, as he had been informed, the French Government, with their accustomed liberality in the encouragement of all purposes for public instruction, had, even in the present eventful crisis, formed a Commission for collecting and preserving all the vestiges of Roman occupation in France. It must be a cause of great regret to every English archaeologist, that in our country the monuments of past times, Roman, Saxon, or Mediæval, so valuable as auxiliaries to historical enquiry, were disregarded as neither worthy of the care of the Government, nor of preservation in our National Depositories.

Dr. BELL, Phil. Dr., gave the following account of the establishment of the Museum at Mayence, one of the most instructive collections in that part of the continent, and remarkably rich in Romano-Germanic antiquities. He exhibited specimens of the admirable reproductions of objects of bronze, jewelled ornaments, &c., produced with singular skill by Mr. Lindeschmidt, in order to facilitate the comparison of the rarest types of the earlier antiquities preserved in various remote continental museums, in cases where originals might be unattainable. That distinguished antiquary has succeeded in supplying facsimiles not only perfect in form and in the most minute details, but presenting the precise appearance of the metallic and patinated surface.

“The beneficial results (Dr. Bell observed) that must arise from a synoptical and comprehensive view of German objects of antiquity were so apparent, that in a general Congress of the Archaeological and Historical Teutonic Societies, held at Mainz, in 1852, it was resolved that two museums for that purpose should be founded; a Mediæval Museum at Nuremberg, for which the very large collection of Baron von Aufrees which existed there formed a valuable nucleus; and a Romano-Germanic Museum

at Mainz. An extensive assemblage of the numerous Roman remains from that neighbourhood already existed at Mainz, and for the furtherance of the object the services of C. L. Lindeschmidt, an eminent historical painter and an ardent archaeologist, were fortunately attainable. As it was at once seen that the valuable objects in other museums or in private collections could not be obtainable, the talents of that gentleman enabled him to perfect facsimiles so exact that the eye can perceive no distinction, and the touch alone has convinced many an observer that they were not the original metal objects, as possibly the Members of the Institute will admit upon the inspection of the following four specimens."

No. 198. A large bronze Celt found near Frankenthal, Rhenish Bavaria, and now in the museum at Wiesbaden.

No. 204. A round Fibula, found in the Francie Graves of Oberolm, near Mainz. Copper inlaid with gold, ivory, and pastas of red glass, and bordered with studs of silver. The original is in Mainz Museum.

No. 272. A large double Spiral Breast-clasp (Brust Spange) of bronze, found at Little Hesebeck, near Uelzen, in Hanover, and like the next in the collection of the Baron von Estorff, Chamberlain of H. M. the King of Hanover.

No. 310. A hanging vessel or ampulla found with the preceding, and in the same valuable collection.

Mr. HAWKES communicated the following particulars regarding the Manilla African ring-money, obtained from one of the principal manufacturers, Mr. Frederick Smith, of the Waterloo Works and Brass Foundry at Birmingham, and accompanied by a specimen which closely resembles in form certain examples of the so-called "Penannular ring money," discovered in Ireland. Upwards of 300 tons of manilla-money is now made in Birmingham on an average in a year, for the African market. A vessel freighted with these rings was wrecked upon the Irish coast near Cork, in 1836, and some of the manillas came into the hands of Mr. Sainthill, who was struck with their close analogy to the rings found in Ireland. The late Sir W. Betham made known this curious fact to the Royal Irish Academy, and his observations may be seen in their Transactions, vol. xvii., p. 91, in which he has given all the forms of "ring-money," which had fallen under his observation in Ireland, from the small plain penannular ring weighing only 12 grains, to the remarkable types with terminal cups, one specimen weighing not less than 56 oz. of gold. He gives also a bronze manilla described as found in Co. Monaghan, and one of iron, almost identical in fashion, obtained from the wreck before mentioned.¹ (These examples closely resemble the sample of recent fabrication presented to the Institute by Mr. Smith.) Sir William Betham states that in Western Africa such rings with dilated ends, similar to those manufactured for the purposes of trade, at Birmingham, are made of solid gold.

"Manilla money (Mr. Smith observed) is manufactured in large quantities in Birmingham and the district. Some years ago it was made of cast-iron, but did not answer, I believe, in consequence of its having no sound when struck. The specimen sent herewith is a sample of some of

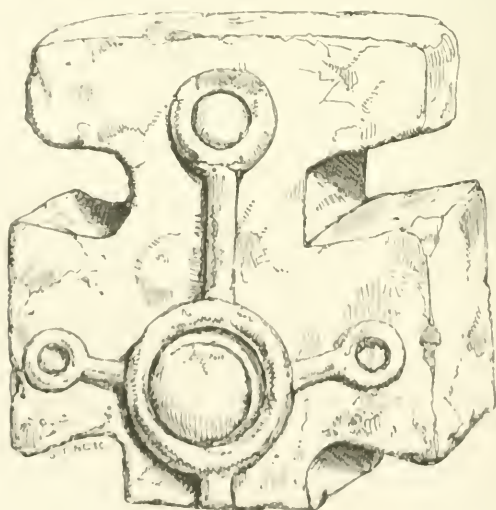
¹ See also Sir William Betham's "Etruria Celtica," Mr. Lindsay's View of the Coinage of Ireland, Mr. Way's Memoir on Ancient Armillæ of Gold, in this

Journal, Vol. vi. p. 56, and the curious papers by Mr. Dickinson on African ring-money in the Numismatic Chronicle.

which I have made large quantities. The metal is a mixture of copper, tin, and spelter, although this varies very much with different makers, and many tons have been returned in consequence. The object is to produce a metal at the least cost that will, when manufactured, ring or sound when struck. The regular bell-metal would be far too expensive a mixture. The patterns vary both in size and shape, although the general outline of form is preserved; it is merely the thickness of the centre, the size, and the ends, that constitute the difference. I should imagine that the various sizes are for different districts, as they are very particular in having them precisely to pattern. The natives reject them for the least deviation, and will not buy them from the merchants who export them. A peculiar feature in the manilla which I send as an example, is the rough edge both inside and out, which to a manufacturer would be considered a flaw in the casting, and would at least be filed away, but if so filed, the manillas would be rendered useless; it may be that the natives prefer the rough edge being left, so that they may the better see the quality of the metal."

The Hon. RICHARD NEVILLE sent a short notice of the latest results of the explorations in progress at Chesterford under his direction. Not many days previously, his workmen had brought to light at a depth of only 15 inches, a vase of white pottery, in the form of a jug, an *ampulla* of glass of square form, and two dishes of Samian ware, both of which had been broken in Roman times, and repaired by means of leaden rivets. The potters' names are distinctly legible.—OF. SECVNDI. and CASSIVSCA. This last supplies a correction of the mark previously given in this Journal (vol. x., p. 233), in which amongst the examples preserved in Mr. Neville's Museum, this name had been read CASSVSCA.

Mr. C. H. PURDAY sent a notice of the recent discovery of a sculptured



Head of a stone cross, found at Carlisle Cathedral.

Height, 6½ in.; breadth, 10½ in.; thickness, about 6 in.

cross or head-stone, at Carlisle Cathedral. In the course of the works now

in progress, this ancient fragment had been brought to light. It lay imbedded in the masonry, in the south-wall of the transept, which is Norman; but several alterations were made in it about the year 1300, when the Chapter House was built against its south front. At that time, as Mr. Purday supposes, the cross may have been built into the wall. A representation of this relique is here given from a drawing which Mr. Purday has kindly supplied. He stated that the cross seems to have been quite a low one, probably placed over a grave; the upper arrises are completely rounded off, as if by friction; the workmanship is extremely rude and irregular. The back of the cross is plain, with the exception of a small round knob or boss in the centre. Some persons had been disposed to regard this cross as of Saxon times, subsequent to the rebuilding of the church and city of Carlisle by Egfrid, King of Northumberland, in 680. The most ancient portion of the existing fabric formed part of the Priory Church, commenced about 1092 by Walter, a Norman priest, to whom, as it is supposed, the government of Carlisle had been entrusted by the Conqueror. The church was completed about 1100 by Henry I., who established the bishop's see there, and made the church a cathedral in 1133.²

Mr. WESTWOOD remarked that he was unable to recall any cross of pre-Norman date bearing resemblance to the fragment found at Carlisle. He thought that had it been of that early period, it would have presented more of the character which he might designate as Northumbrian, analogous to the Early Irish style of ornamentation. Mr. Westwood considered that the cross might possibly be assigned to the twelfth century.

This fragment, it may be observed, appears to be part of a cross of the Latin form, the transverse portion forming the top being possibly intended to represent the *Titulus*. This, however, is very rarely, if ever, indicated on early sculptured or sepulchral crosses, which are for the most part of the Greek type, with the four limbs of equal length, and forming the head of a long shaft. Amongst the few existing examples of early head-stones, may be cited those found at Bakewell, figured in this Journal, vol. iv., p. 57; at Rauceby, Lincolnshire, vol. x., p. 63; and at Cambridge Castle, *Archæologia*, vol. xvii., p. 228.

Mr. ASHURST MAJENDIE gave an account of some remarkable memorials of the noble family of De Vere. He produced a carefully detailed drawing which he had lately caused to be executed by Mr. Parish, of Colchester, representing the upper slab of the tomb of John, fifteenth Earl of Oxford, who died in 1539. The monument, of black marble, sometimes termed "touch-stone," is in the middle of the chancel of Castle Hedingham Church, Essex. On the top of this altar-tomb are sculptured in bold relief the effigies of the earl in armour, with an heraldic tabard and the mantle and collar of the garter, and of his countess, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Edward Trussell, in a rich costume, her mantle displaying the bearings of De Vere with quarterings. The figures appear kneeling under a canopy, and this sculpture occupies nearly half the upper surface of the tomb, the remainder, above the figures, displaying a bold achievement of the arms of De Vere with six quarterings, impaling Trussell and Burley, quarterly. The

² An Historical Sketch of Carlisle Cathedral has been recently published by the Very Rev. the Dean, to which we

would refer for more detailed particulars. London: Groombridge, Paternoster Row. 12mo.

escutcheon is surrounded by the garter. The crest is the boar on a chapeau, placed on a helmet; the supporters are the harpy and the hart. On the north and south sides of this fine tomb are sculptured the kneeling figures of their children; of the former, on which appear the daughters, Elizabeth, Anne, Fraunceis, and Ursela, Mr. Majendie had the kindness to bring a drawing by Mr. Parish, at the subsequent meeting. He expressed the hope that an engraving of this fine memorial, a remarkable example of the style of the *Renaissance*, without any mixture of Gothic character, might be produced under the auspices of the Essex Archæological Society. Mr. Almaek, of Melford, has engaged to prepare descriptive notices.

Mr. Majendie produced also coloured drawings by the talented antiquarian draughtsman, John Carter, representing the sculptured chimney-piece formerly at Gosfield Hall, Essex, and removed thither in 1687 from Bois Hall, one of the seats of the De Veres. It had been stated that it was taken from Gosfield by the Marquess of Buckingham to Stowe, but all inquiries had been made there without avail to discover whether it still exists. No representation of this sculpture appears to have been published, and the drawings by Carter are well deserving of being engraved. Over the chimney-piece were statues of Henry VII. and his queen, and in the central compartment was introduced a spirited representation of the battle of Bosworth Field, between Richard III. and the Earl of Richmond, with whom the De Veres took part. The two armies appear in the moment when the conflict drew towards its close, the king lying prostrate before the victor in the foreground, holding his crown. Amongst the combatants, as recognised by their emblazoned shields, there appear on the king's side, the Duke of Norfolk, who lies slain in the field, the Earl of Northumberland, Sir William Herbert, Sir John Tyrell, Sir Richard Ratcliffe, and Sir William Catesby. With the victor Earl are seen John, Earl of Oxford, Lord Stanley and Sir William his brother, Sir William Brandon, Henry's standard-bearer, Sir Gilbert Talbot, and Sir John Savage. The date of the sculpture is probably of the early part of the sixteenth century. Mr. Majendie exhibited at the same time a drawing of another relique of the De Veres, a richly carved oak bedstead purchased by his father at Sibbo Hedingham. At the head appears an escutcheon under a crown with the lion and dragon as supporters, and initials which may be those of Edward VI.—K—E. Below is an heraldic achievement; De Vere and Trussell, quarterly, with six quarterings as on the tomb above described. This bed is possibly of the time of John, sixteenth Earl of Oxford, whose mother was sister and heiress of John Trussell. The Earl was Lord Great Chamberlain in the reign of Edward VI.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the Rev. W. H. GUNTER.—A photographic representation of a small

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| MATRIB |
| ITALIS GER |
| MANIS. |
| GAL. BRIT |
| . . . NTONIUS |
| CRETIANVS |
| ECOS. REST. |

inscribed altar, dedicated by Antonius Cretianus to the Dæe Matres, found

at Winchester during the last summer.³ It has been subsequently published by Mr. Roach Smith in vol. iv., part i. of his *Collectanea Antiqua*, the original altar having come into his possession. He has given some valuable remarks on the worship of the *Deæ Matres*, and various inscriptions found in England in which they are named. Mr. Roach Smith proposes the following reading *in extenso*, of that which has been found at Winchester. "Matribus Italis, Germanis, Gallicis, Britannicis, Antonius Cretianus Beneficiarius Consulis restituit." Mr. Gunner states that this altar was found in Jewry Street, in digging foundations for houses built on the site of the south wing of the old county jail. Height, 19 inches; width, 8 inches.

By the Rev. WALTER SNEYD.—Two remarkable specimens of the enamelled work of the twelfth century, possibly by the artists of Limoges. They represent two of the evangelistic symbols, those of St. Mark and St. Luke, the lion and the ox. They are formed of gilt copper, and are in high relief, having been formed possibly to be affixed to the binding of a *Textus*, or Book of the Gospels, which they might serve in some degree to protect in lieu of the bosses usually placed upon mediæval bindings. The design is singularly quaint and spirited. The animals have wings, and each holds a clasped book.

In reference to a little inscribed plate of metal, in the collection of Mr. Sneyd, exhibited at a previous meeting (see vol. x., p. 259) and of which the use had not been ascertained, the following explanation has been offered. Two objects similar in dimension and in the inscriptions which they bore, existed in the Cabinet of Antiquities in the Library of St. Geneviève, at Paris, and they are represented in the account of those collections published by Du Molinet, in 1692 (Plate 18, p. 66). They are described as Roman weights, *sextulæ*, the sixth part of the *uncia*, and are noticed as remarkable on account of the mode in which the inscriptions were produced—"des inscriptions écrites d'une manière singulière, qui n'est ni en creux ni en relief, avec de l'encre de pourpre sur de petites bandes d'argent." On one were the words, SALVIS D.D. ALBINVS FECIT. BASILIVS REP. and on the other, Obv. SALVIS D.D. N.N. ALBINVS FECIT.—Rev. SALVIS D.D. N.N. BAS. FEC. Albinus and Basilius, the learned writer observes, were Masters of the Mint, and the formula *Dominis nostris* indicates that these pieces were made in the time when two emperors were ruling simultaneously, for instance, Valentinian and Valens. The same *prepositi monetæ*, it will be observed, are named on the *sextula* obtained by Mr. Sneyd, at Strasburg. Occasionally, the heads of the two emperors occur on these Roman weights (Cab. de Sainte Genev. pl. 18. Montf. Ant. Expl. tome iii., pl. 95).

By Mr. BRACKSTONE.—Several antiquities of bronze, chiefly from Ireland, comprising three bronze daggers, a serpent-shaped finger ring, three fibulæ, one of them of a bow-shaped Roman type, a small bronze spoon with round bowl and pointed handle. (Compare plate xiii., fig. 12, in Akerman's *Archæological Index*). Also specimens of penannular bronze "ring-money" from Ireland, one of them with trumpet, or cupped, ends; it was found in the County Cavan, in 1839, and was in the collection of the late Mr. C. Loscombe; the other, with oval or leaf-shaped solid ends, locality unknown. These rings, in their dimensions, resemble small armlets, and the latter

³ *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. iii. p. 272; vol. iv. p. 41, pl. xiv. See also notices of the *Deæ Matres*, vol. i. p. 136, and vol.

ii. p. 193; and Mr. Wright's *Memoir in the Journal Brit. Arch. Assoc.* vol. ii. p. 239.

specimen is almost identical in form with the "manilla" above described (see page 180), presented to the Institute by Mr. F. Smith.

By Mr. GEORGE ROOTS.—Two objects of baked clay, of which the age and intention has been ascertained. One is a massive ring, presented to the Surrey Archæological Society by Mr. Jesse, accompanied by the following particulars. "This ring was dug up in Richmond Park, by some labourers trying to open a new gravel-pit, to the right of the road leading from the Robin Hood gate to the Kingston Hill ladder-style gate. There were twelve of them in all, carefully secured in a sort of cairn built up of stones, which are not to be found in the neighbourhood. Each of the terra-cotta rings had a circumference of about 12 inches, with a hole in the centre of from $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 inches in diameter." A similar object found in the churchyard of St. Nicholas', Wilton, was exhibited at a previous meeting by Mr. Nightingale, and is described in this Journal, vol. xi., p. 190, where notices of other examples may be found. Rings of this description have been found with Roman remains.¹

Mr. Roots brought also for examination a cylindrical perforated brick, belonging to Dr. Roots, of Kingston, who states that it was found some years since at the spot called Cæsar's Camp, on Wimbledon Common, and near the site where spear-heads and weapons, funereal urns and pottery, indicating Roman occupation, have been discovered. This object in form resembles a small cheese, the diameter is $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches, thickness $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches, diameter of the perforation $\frac{3}{4}$ inch. Several "*cylindres en terre cuite*" are noticed as found in Normandy, supposed to be of the Roman age, but their dimensions are not stated. Mem. des Antiqu. de Norm. 1829. p. liii.

By Mr. RONDE HAWKINS.—An elaborately carved ivory box, with an Arabic inscription; probably of Saracenic workmanship. A similar box is preserved in the Treasury of Sens Cathedral. The inscription round the top has the following signification:—Hail to him whose equal I never met, upon whom I rely more than on any other, that generous man for whom, whenever I came with a request, I never returned but with what contented me, and with a joyful face.—Also, a Venetian salver of damascened metal, from the collection of the late Mr. Crofton Croker. It bears an enamelled escutcheon of the arms of the Priuli family, and the initials, D.—P. Date, XVth century.

By Mr. NIGHTINGALE, of Wilton.—Two carvings in ivory, of which one represents a kind of radiated ornament, or flower, supported by two winged and eagle-headed animals; it resembles in design some of the curious sculptures in marble at St. Mark's, Venice. It was found, as far as can be ascertained, at Old Sarum. The other represents our Lord seated on a throne and giving the benediction; in his left hand is an open book. The character of the design resembles that of the Byzantine school.—An alabaster tablet, found near Salisbury; as it has been stated, at Old Sarum. (See woodcut.) It represents a head with long hair and beard, the eyes closed in death, and apparently placed upon a circular object or disk. Above is a small naked figure, with the hands clasped, surrounded by an *aureola* of pointed-oval form, and supported by two angels, now much broken and defaced, who appear to bear towards Heaven this representation of a disembodied spirit. Beneath is the upper part of a figure, with upraised

¹ Two are preserved in the Hon. R. Neville's Museum; see Archæol. Journal, vol. x, p. 232. See also Mr. Artis' Durobrivæ, pl. 29.



ALABASTER TABLET, FOUND NEAR SALISBURY.

Representing the Head of St. John the Baptist in a charger, St. Peter, and St. Thomas of Canterbury.

Dimensions of the original, $10\frac{1}{2}$ by 7 inches.

hands, apparently rising from a sepulchre, like an altar-tomb. On the dexter side of the tablet appears St. Peter, with a key and book; on the other side is a mitred figure vested in a cope, holding an archiepiscopal cross-staff and a book. This probably represents St. Thomas of Canterbury. The date of this curious tablet is the XVth century.

Alabaster tablets, similar in dimensions, and in the general features of design, have been noticed in several antiquarian works, and various explanations of their import have been offered. The example produced by Mr. Nightingale appears to correspond precisely with the object bequeathed in 1522 by Agas Herte, of Bury St. Edmunds, amongst her household effects, and described as a "Seynt Joh's hede of alabaster with Seynt Peter and Seynt Thomas and the fygur of Cryst." (Bury Wills and Inventories, edited by Mr. Tymms for the Camden Society, pp. 115, 255.)

In the Notes on this Will Mr. John Gough Nichols has fully detailed the evidence which may be collected from various sculptures of this description. Representations of such tablets may be found in Stukeley's *Palæographia*, in Schnebbelie's *Antiquaries' Museum* (also given in Nichols' *List of Leicestershire*, vol. iv., p. 70, and Fosbroke's *Encyclopedia of Antiquities*, p. 688). Two are given *Gent. Mag.*, xciv., ii., p. 209, of which one belonged to the Rev. E. Duke, and the other is now in the possession of Mr. J. Bowyer Nichols, who has also a third not engraved, received by him from the late Sir S. Meyrick, (*Gent. Mag.* xciv., i., p. 397.) Another, formerly at Horington, Somerset, is described by Mr. Adderley, *Gent. Mag.* xciv., ii., p. 292. In all of these the head of St. John the Baptist, of large proportionate size, occupies the centre; it has been taken for the Vernicle; the image of our Lord's face given to Abgarus after the siege of Edessa; and the first person of the Holy Trinity. The figure beneath has been regarded as Christ rising from the tomb, and in the example given by Stukeley it is a seated figure, naked, and the hands bound with cords. On the tablet in Mr. Nichols' possession, the *Agnus Dei* occupies this position. In every instance the accompanying saints are St. Peter and St. Thomas of Canterbury, one only excepted (Stukeley), on which the second is represented as St. Paul. On several are seen in the back ground St. Katherine and St. Helen. The four saints occur on the tablet above-mentioned, which was exhibited by the late Rev. E. Duke in the museum formed during the meeting of the Institute at Salisbury. Engraved *Gent. Mag.* xciv., ii., p. 209. The little figure above, supported by angels, is nearly similar in all, in two instances (one of them represented *ibid.*) a youthful head only appears, upheld in a napkin by the angels. On a tablet in the Ashmolean, from Tradescant's museum, the head of St. John appears, our Lord rising from the sepulchre, and no other figures whatever. It is described as "the Vernicle." The import of this hagiotypic combination has not been explained.

By Mr. EDWARD CHENEY.—An oblong tablet of bronze, probably of Oriental workmanship; on one side appear, in low relief, the Saviour enthroned, the Virgin and St. John, and angels; the reverse is covered with characters, partly in relief and partly engraved, hitherto unexplained. Their forms bear resemblance to those occurring on Gnostic objects, and they do not appear to belong to any known language in the East. Dimensions, $5\frac{3}{4}$ in. by $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. The date has been conjectured to be about the XIIIth century. It was purchased by Mr. Cheney in Italy.

By the Rev. THOMAS HEGO.—A Russo-Greek triptych found in 1853 in

the churchyard of Christ Church, Spitalfields, having probably been interred with the corpse of some foreigner, a member of the Greek church. A remarkable silver reliquary, supposed to be of Greek workmanship, was found in 1831, suspended by a silver chain to the neck of a skeleton, in the churchyard of St. Dunstan's, Fleet Street. On one side appeared St. Helena; on the other, St. George. Representations of this curious *encolpium* were given in this Journal, vol. v., p. 166.

By Mr. WESTWOOD.—Specimens of anastatic drawings, representing the subjects of the legend of St. Guthlac, from the vellum roll in the British Museum, of the latter part of the XIIth century, containing a series of admirable drawings with the pen, illustrative of the life of that saint. Representations have been published in Nichols' History of Leicestershire, and in Gough's Croyland Abbey; a reduced facsimile of one of the most interesting subjects is given in Mr. Shaw's Dresses and Decorations, vol. i., No. 16. Mr. Westwood observed that this Roll is of remarkable value as an undoubted example of English design at that early period. He took occasion to state that, as he had recently been informed, the ivory crosier-head, formerly in the Allan Museum at Newcastle-on-Tyne, and supposed to have been brought from Easby Abbey, is no longer to be found. An account of it may be found, with a woodcut representation, in Mr. Fox's Synopsis of the Newcastle Museum, p. 181, and in Clarkson's History of Richmond, p. 362. It has also been figured recently in Mr. Scott's Antiquarian Gleanings in the North of England, pl. xiii. The diameter of the volute, in the centre of which is the *Agnus Dei*, is stated to be $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. It had been preserved at the Museum of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Newcastle.

Mr. FRANKS remarked that this curious crosier had been sought for in vain on the occasion of the meeting of the Institute at Newcastle in 1852. Dr. Charlton stated that it had been missing since 1848, when the antiquities in the Museum of the Philosophical Society had been removed for temporary exhibition at the Castle.

By Mr. ASHURST MAJENDIE.—A casting in iron, representing Christ and the woman of Samaria; also, a large engraving of the west front of Coutances Cathedral; Mr. Majendie presented the latter to the Institute.

By Mr. W. TITE.—Two volumes, productions of the press of Caxton, in the finest preservation, one of them being the "Myrrour of the World," printed in 1480; the other, the "Book of Fayttes of Armes and Chyvalrye," about 1493-4. Mr. Desborough Bedford (by whose kindness these specimens of early printing were brought) pointed out in the former a representation of an arithmetician making calculations by aid of Arabic numerals.

By Mr. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH.—Three spurs, of which one with a long neck, date about 1460; the others, with straight shanks, date XVIIth century.

By Mr. W. R. DEERE SALMON.—An iron spur, date about the reign of Henry VI., accompanied by a note of Captain Boteler, of Llandough Castle, co. Glamorgan, where it was found. In excavating foundations, about 20 ft. from the boundaries of the churchyard which adjoins the castle, ten or twelve human skeletons were found, buried probably at some very distant period. No tradition of such interment can be traced. They lay in separate graves, E. and W., three excepted, which lay together: the graves being cut out of the hard clay, about 4 feet below the surface; no trace of coffins appeared, but a few fragments of charcoal occurred. The remains were evidently those of adults. The spur was found at the same place, about

3 feet deep, not however in a grave. An old parish road passes between the churchyard and the spot where these remains lay.

By the Hon. W. FOX STRANGWAYS.—A series of drawings by Mr. R. H. Short, of Yeovil, representing a very interesting example of domestic architecture in the earlier part of the XVIth century, Barrington Court, near South Petherton, Somerset. It is now the residence of Mr. Peters. This ancient mansion appears to have been preserved in its original condition, with scarcely any "restorations." An account of it was given in the Builder.

By Mr. T. WILLSON.—Specimens of the knives found at Croyland, Lincolnshire, and traditionally supposed to have been of the kind given to visitors of Croyland Abbey, on St. Bartholomew's day. This ancient custom, abolished by Abbot John de Wisbech (1469—1476), had become an onerous expense to the monastery. It had been introduced, as stated by Gough in his history of the Abbey, in allusion to the knife with which the saint had been flayed. (Bibl. Top. Brit. No. XI. p. 70.) Gough observes that a number of these knives, found in the ruins of the abbey and in the river, were in the possession of a local collector, and he gives representations of several, from drawings in the Minute books of the Spalding Society. Mr. Willson brought also a local token, "The Poores halfe: peny of Croyland, 1670," on the reverse of which appear three knives with three whips, the latter supposed to have been used by St. Guthlac.

By Mr. J. H. MATHEWS.—A small round plate of mixed metal, originally enamelled, displaying the arms of Charles I., and probably intended to be affixed to the central boss of a large dish or charger.

By Captain OAKES.—A small watch, of the XVIth century, in the form of a shell; it bears the maker's name—"Tho. Recue In Popes head Ale," and the initials E. P. A key, probably of contemporary date; and a seal, with the device of an anchor passing through a heart, are appended. Also, a small relique, such as were worn by partisans of Charles I., a silver heart, with a heart on one side transfixd by arrows in saltire, and the posy—"I live and die in Loyaltie." On the other side, a skull, with the initials, C.R. —"Prepared be to follow mee."

Impressions from Seals.—By the Rev. EDWARD TROLLOPE.—Impressions from two matrices found in Lincolnshire. One of them, of oval form, is of lead, and is engraved on both sides. The central compartment on one side is in the form of the Norman or "kite-shaped" shield, and the device is a fleur de lys. The inscription is as follows:—SIGILL' . MA . . . XL' (?) NICHOL', Date, XIIIth century. The work on the other side is of rude and probably later execution; the device is a leaf or branch (?) with the inscription,—* s' 10H'1 . . . OR'ALA. This matrix was found in the parish of Blankney, near Lincoln. The second matrix was found in the adjacent parish of Scopwick. The subject represented upon it is the death of St. Peter, Martyr, murdered, in 1252, near Milan, by the hired assassins of the Manichee heretics, whose principles he had zealously opposed. The martyr appears in the Dominican habit, kneeling, and one of the murderers, probably representing Carinus, afterwards admitted into the Dominican convent at Forli, cleaves the head of the Saint with a sword.⁶ Beneath is introduced a monk, kneeling. The

* See Butler's Lives of the Saints, April 29, and notices of various representations of St. Peter, Martyr, in Dr. Husenbeth's

useful manual of the "Emblems of Saints," p. 114.

following inscription indicates that his name was Warin.—SVSCIPE : PETRE : ALTVI : (?) DEVOTI : VOTA : WARINI. This matrix is of brass, of pointed-oval form, with a ridge upon the reverse, terminating in a loop for suspension. Date, XIVth century.

By Mr. READY, 2, St. Botolph's Lane, Cambridge.—A small heraldic seal of good design, of which impressions are preserved in the treasury at Pembroke College, Cambridge. It is the seal of William Giffard, *valectus* to the foundress, Mary, Countess of Pembroke, t. Edw. III. The bearing is a lozenge within a double tressure flory and counter-flory.—SIGILLVM. WILLELMI. GIFFARD.

By Mr. J. GOUGH NICHOLS.—Impressions from two signet-rings, bearing as a device the "Jerusalem cross," or cross potent between four crosslets, the insignia of the kingdom of Jerusalem, worn likewise on the mantle of the knights of the Holy Sepulchre.⁶ This device is regarded as emblematical of the Five wounds of our Lord. On one of these rings, of gold, purchased at Brighton, the cross appears between two olive branches, with the word Jerusalem in Hebrew characters, beneath; on the other, the branches alone are introduced. The ring last-mentioned, which is of silver, is in the possession of Mr. Thompson, of Leicester. These are supposed to be memorial rings brought as tokens of pilgrimage to the Holy City.

March 2, 1855.

The Hon. RICHARD C. NEVILLE, F.S.A., Vice-President, in the Chair.

Mr. W. W. E. WYNNE, M.P., gave a short account of the discovery of burnt bones at a circle of stones near Llanaber, Merionethshire. In the excavations which he had caused to be made with the view of ascertaining the character of that ancient site, he had found several flakes or chippings of flint, with very sharp edges, possibly the points of arrows. No silex occurs in the neighbourhood. Mr. Wynne also produced facsimiles taken in plaster and gutta percha from the singular sword-like impressions on two rocks near Barmouth, as described by Mr. Ffoulkes in this Journal, vol. ix. p. 91. The place is called "the Field of the Swords;" and on each of these rocks, which appear originally to have formed one mass, now riven asunder, there appears an indent, about 2 ft. 7 in. in length, resembling a leaf-shaped British sword. Tradition points out the spot as the scene of a battle. Mr. Wynne observed that he had considered it possible these cavities might be natural, arising from the structure of the rock, or some fossil remains which had been imbedded in it. On submitting the casts, however, with specimens of the rock, to the best authorities at the Museum of Economic Geology, it had been decidedly affirmed that they are not organic.

The Rev. J. COLLINGWOOD BRUCE, LL.D., communicated some remarks on the Roman Inscription discovered at Bath. (See p. 93, in this volume.)

The Hon. RICHARD NEVILLE read a memoir on the deep shafts which he had discovered at the Roman station at Chesterton. (Printed in this volume, p. 109.)

A discussion ensued on the purpose of these singular pits, frequently found near Roman sites. Mr. Octavius Morgan, Mr. A. Way, Mr. Hunter, the Hon. W. Fox Strangways and Mr. J. Gough Nichols, alluded to the various opinions of antiquaries regarding them. Some suppose these shafts

⁶ Bonanni, *Ordinum Equestrum Catalogus*, pl. 105, 160.

to be the cesspools of Roman dwellings: Mr. Thomas Wright regards them as *cloaca*. The evidence appears strongly against the conjecture that they were wells. They have been considered with some degree of probability to have been *silos*—subterraneous granaries, similar to the “Mattamores” in Barbary, in which the grain is deposited as soon as winnowed. Shaw states in his Travels that two hundred or three hundred of these magazines occur together, the smallest containing four hundred bushels. Dr. Russell says they abound near Aleppo.

Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN, M.P., gave the following account of a German MS. chronicle of Strasburg, which he brought for examination, from the library of Sir Charles Morgan, Bart. “This ancient German manuscript has been in the possession of my family for many years. How or when it came into our possession I do not know, but it has certainly been in the library at Tredegar nearly a century.

“It is entitled ‘Chronicles of all the most memorable histories and acts of the city of Strasburg from the Flood to the year 1330.’ The MS. was, however, written about the year 1612, which is the latest date found in it, and the binding also bears the date 1614. It must then have been compiled from earlier sources, though neither the authorities, nor the names of either writer or artist are given. It is beautifully written in a minute old German hand, rather flourished in some of the letters, which, coupled with the different mode of spelling certain words, renders it at times difficult to read and understand. It is richly ornamented throughout with elaborate illuminations, representing certain historical subjects, of which the title-page contains four, the portraits or figures of the Roman and German emperors, some on horseback, and some on foot, and also with heraldry, giving on the fly-leaf to the title-page, the arms of the city, and scattered throughout the volume are the arms of all the Bishops, as well as those of various cities, Princes, and other persons. These illuminations are well executed with the most minute delicacy, and the brilliancy of the colours, and the exquisite manner in which the gold and silver are applied, are well deserving of attention. It is written on paper of very fine quality, and rather a yellowish hue, probably the result of age, and it has for a paper-mark in the middle of the pages, a shield of arms surmounted by a crown, and from the bottom of the shield is dependent the golden fleece. At the beginning and end of the book are several fly-leaves of marbled paper of various colours, which I think are early and rare specimens—the book also contains a minutely engraved bird’s-eye view of the city of Strasburg, dated 1597.

“It would not be worth while to go through all the details of this MS., which is interspersed with verses and poetry, which usually accompany the illuminations. It however begins with the Deluge, and here at the commencement we have a new historical fact recorded, viz., that Noah had a fourth son born after the flood, and of him do the Germans descend. This fourth son of Noah was the great and mighty hero Tuiseo, who, with thirty other heroes and princes, his kinsmen, and much people, travelled out of Armenia across the water into Europe, and to Germany, where he settled, and divided that portion of the world amongst his followers. From Tuiseo, therefore, do the Teutonic nations derive both their origin and name, according to our Chronicle. This Tuiseo or Tuisto is a very ancient German hero, and is, I think, mentioned by Tacitus as one of the gods of the German tribes; he was supposed to have sprung from the earth, but we

have here a new parent assigned to him. Japhet is not mentioned among the emigrants, but Gomer, Tubal, and others of his sons are among the thirty heroes, from one of whom named Albion, does our island derive its people and name. Tuisco reigned 118 years, and instructed his people in the art of writing. We are also informed that Trèves is the oldest city in Germany, having been built by king Trebecetra, the son of Semiramis, who fled from Babylon to escape from the solicitations of his mother, took ship and came and settled at Trèves. As the population increased the cities of Cologne, Mayence, Worms, Strasburg and Basle were built, and that Strasburg was a populous city 1200 years before the Christian era, and came into the hands of the Romans at the time of Julius Cæsar. It then gives an account of all the Roman emperors, with their portraits, and the kings of the Franks before and after the Christian era. The history of the Cathedral is, that it was first founded by Clodoveus (Clovis) the forty-eighth king of the Franks, A.D. 500; that being chiefly built of wood it was burnt by lightning in 1007; that in 1015 the rebuilding commenced, and that in 1275 it was all completed except the towers, that they were begun in 1277 by Master Ehrwein of Steinbach, and in 1305 were carried up to where the spire begins by John Hultzer of Cologne, when the master of the works dying the work came to a stand, but that at length the tower was completed by a native of Swabia. It also gives an account of all the bishops of Strasburg (the see having been founded in 640), and their armorial bearings; the emperors of Germany, with their portraits and arms, and the mayors and Stadtmeisters of Strasburg, who began in 1271. Amongst many other historical events it records all the great conflagrations in the German cities, severe winters, great storms, appearance of comets, &c. The last event recorded is in 1327, when a dreadful fire suddenly broke out in the house of a currier, in the Carriers' street in Strasburg, and burnt down all one side of the street, and fourteen houses on the other. In addition to these chronicles it gives the ordinances and forms of proceeding in all the different councils and courts of Strasburg, and the oaths taken by the various officers, and concludes with finely painted representations of all the costumes of the different classes of society in Strasburg at the period at which it was written. This is the most interesting and curious part of the book, not only from the great beauty and minutely detailed finish of the paintings, but because it is very rare to meet with a complete series of coloured costumes, as well ceremonial as ordinary, of all the grades of society, both male and female, from the chief officers and nobles to the humble peasantry of any country at any period, and especially one so early as the beginning of the XVIIth century."

Mr. P. ORLANDO HUTCHINSON, of Sidmouth, communicated a notice of a sepulchral slab, in the middle aisle of the nave at East Budleigh church, Devon, commemorating Joan, the first wife of Walter Raleigh, father of the distinguished statesman and favourite of Elizabeth. She was the daughter, according to Prince (*Worthies of Devon*, p. 530) of John Drake of Exmouth. Walter Raleigh originally resided, as it is stated, at Fardel, in the parish of Cornwood near Plymouth, and having a lease of the farm and house called Hays in the parish of East Budleigh, he removed to that place, where Sir Walter was born in 1552. In his letter to Mr. Duke, owner of Hays, written from the court in 1584, Sir Walter expresses his desire to purchase the house in which he was born. Sir Walter was the second son, by a second marriage; his mother was Katherine, daughter of Sir Philip

Champernon. The slab, which appears to be of dark grey slate, measures 4 ft. 9 in. by 2 ft. 8 in., and a cross flory is engraved upon it, resembling in design the crosses usually found on memorials of an earlier date. The character of this cross, as compared with the less skilful execution of the inscription around the margin, has led the Rev. Dr. Oliver, who gives a representation of the slab in his "*Ecclesiastical Antiquities in Devon*," vol. ii. p. 64, to conjecture that the inscription had been cut over a more ancient memorial. It is now greatly defaced by time, and partly illegible; the letters stand out on a sunk ground, which was doubtless filled in with some dark coloured substance. The inscription, in large ornamental character, is remarkable in this respect that the letters are reversed throughout, reading from right to left, a caprice hitherto unexplained, and, as it is believed, peculiar to this slab.—ORATE PRO AIA IOHANNE RALEYH VX(ORIS) WALT'I RALEYH . . . QVE OBIIT X^o DIE MENS' AVGUSTI (?) ANNO DÑI MCC . . . Mr. Hutchinson stated the popular tradition that the head of Sir Walter Raleigh was brought to Devonshire by his widow, and buried under this slab at Budleigh. It was his desire, in his farewell letter to his wife, that his remains should be interred either at Sherborne, or in Exeter Cathedral, near his father and mother: his corpse was, however, taken to St. Margaret's, Westminster, after his execution, and buried in the chancel. Mr. Hutchinson sent, with a rubbing of the cross slab above described, a representation of the date 1537, in Arabic numerals of early forms; it is cut on the woodwork of the seat in the nave of Budleigh church, said to have been occupied by Walter Raleigh and his family. Also a representation of a rudely-incised slab in the south aisle, bearing the name, Roger Vowles (?) without date.

Mr. LE KEUX read a short notice of some fragments of the sculptured crosses found at Bakewell, Derbyshire, during the restoration of the church. He brought several drawings received from Mr. Barker, of Bakewell, representing three early Christian reliques which had been built in and used as material in forming the piers and walls of the porch. Of these fragments one is part of a shaft, with interlaced ornaments of a very early type, but the sides only now present any sculptured work, the broad faces having been cut away. The material is sandstone. Height of the fragment 33 inches. Another is part of the head of a cross, possibly a portion of that now standing in the churchyard at Bakewell, and of which a representation has been given, by Mr. Le Keux's kindness, in this Journal, vol. xi. p. 282. The running moulding round the outer edge of this fragment is similar to one now remaining on the upper part of that shaft. Another fragment, of sandstone, now presents three sculptured faces, the fourth having been cut away. Height, 35 inches. It seems singular, Mr. Le Keux observed, that remains of objects of so sacred a nature should have been thus inconsiderately used as mere building material; they are evidently of an earlier age than the sculptured monuments of the Norman period. He produced also a lithographed representation of part of the head of a cross of Norman work, presenting a curious mixture of interlaced with diaper ornament, which he considered a new feature in work of the period.

Mr. G. COWBRIDGE offered some observations on old plate, which might be viewed with interest in connexion with the researches of Mr. Morgan towards establishing the lists of assay-marks prior to the time when the records of the Goldsmiths' Company commenced. He produced a small plain silver cup, which had been regarded by some persons as a chalice;

it was found imbedded in the mud, in forming the docks at Newport, Monmouthshire, about the year 1838. The marks are the leopard's head, lion passant, the initials, G. W., and black letter capital, **M**, indicating the year 1669, according to Alphabet XII. in the useful lists for which we are indebted to Mr. Morgan, given in this Journal, vol. x. p. 36. Mr. Cowburn brought also a salver, the date of which he was enabled to ascertain by the same lists to be 1667.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the CAMBRIDGE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.—Two bronze weapons, from the collection of the late Mr. Deek. One is a strong blade which had been attached to the haft by four massive rivets. Length, 11 inches; width, near the rivets, 4 inches. It bears much resemblance to that found in Shropshire, represented in this Journal, vol. xi. p. 414. Found near Maney, Cambridgeshire, in the fen. The other is a portion of a weapon of very skilful workmanship. In form and proportions it is similar to those which might be produced from the stone moulds found near Chudleigh, Devon, represented in this Journal, vol. ix. p. 185. The centre of the blade is formed with three sharp ridges; the haft was attached by two rivets. Found near Waterbeach. A diminutive urn of the class designated as "incense cups" by the late Sir R. Colt Hoare. It was found within a large urn filled with fragments of bone in the "Twin Barrow," Bincombe Down, Dorset. Presented to the Society by the Rev. J. J. Smith. Height, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Diameter, nearly 3 inches. On one side there are two small perforations, as if for suspension. (See woodcut.) An account of the discovery is given in the Communications to the Society, No. V.



By Mr. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH.—A sculptured fragment, in Greek marble, recently found at Rome near the catacombs. It appears to represent a horse.

By Mr. FRANKS.—Several bronze palstaves, found near Goudhurst, Kent, three of them presented to the British Museum by Mr. S. Stringer. Eight were discovered piled up in regular order, and they are in remarkably perfect preservation. They have no loops at the side.

By the Hon. RICHARD NEVILLE.—Several reliques of bronze found at Chesterford and the Saxon Cemetery at Little Wilbraham; they consisted of objects of personal ornament, a Roman ring of bronze, formed to serve as a key, another bronze ring, &c. Mr. Neville also brought a silver ring of the XVth century, lately found on the White Farm, at Kingston Lacy, Dorset. On the facets of the head are engraved

diminutive figures of St. John the Baptist, St. John the Evangelist, and a female saint holding a pyx with a conical cover, probably Mary Magdalene. Another silver ring had been found in the same locality two years since. Mr. Neville has recently added to his *Dactylotheca* another ring of the same age as that from Kingston Lacy, with similar figures of St. John the Evangelist and a female bearing a pyx. It is of silver, the hoop formed with clasped hands, like the rings supposed to have been given at betrothals, which usually bear inscriptions without any device. This ring, which had been in the possession of the late Mr. Windus, was stated to have been found in digging one of the cofferdams for New London Bridge.

By Mr. HEINEKEN, of Sidmouth.—A bronze figure representing Chiron with Achilles on his back. It was found in 1840 by some fishermen on the beach under the cliffs near Sidmouth, on the Salcombe side of the river Sid. Two representations of this singular relique, undoubtedly the head of a Roman standard, may be seen in *Gent. Mag.*, vol. xix. N. S., p. 505. It had suffered by long exposure to the action of the sea, and some small pebbles are still attached to it. The left arm is bent out of the original position; the legs of the centaur are broken, and the design is now with difficulty to be understood. Chiron is probably represented as giving instruction in field sports to the youthful Achilles, who appears to have held a bow, with a *parazonium* at his left side, and a *parma* slung between his shoulders. The centaur's right hand may have grasped a hunting spear, it now appears extended to a dog leaping up in front. This bronze measures 7 inches in height, including a square socket or *scapus* below the figure, by which it was affixed to the shaft. Mr. Heineken observed that this figure had been, possibly, carried by a cohort of the second legion of Carausius. The centaur appears to have been the device of that corps; it appears also on coins of Gallienus, relating to the Legio II. Parthica. The animals enumerated by Pliny as placed on Roman standards are, the eagle, wolf, minotaur, boar and horse, corresponding to the five great military divisions. Objects of this description are of great rarity; an example of the horse is preserved in the Goodrich Court Armory.⁷ Roman coins have been frequently brought to light on the shore at Sidmouth, although no distinct evidence of Roman occupation can now be traced on that part of the coast. There exist, however, on the heights in that locality earthworks and other vestiges which deserve examination; the hill-fortress called Sidbury Castle is distant about three miles to the northward.

By the Hon. W. FOX STRANGWAYS.—The recent publications of the Society of Antiquaries of the Grand Duchy of Baden, in which has been given a lithochromic representation of a bronze Roman standard, in the form of a capricorn. It was found in 1850 at Otterschwang, near Pfullendorf, in Baden. In the accompanying memoir by Dr. Zell a copious mass of curious information has been brought together on Roman *signa* and *rexilla*. Mr. Strangways called attention to the remarkable Roman structure illustrated in another number of the series; it is the castle of Steinsberg, near Sinsheim, of octagonal form, built by Trajan, or at latest by Caracalla,

⁷ Skelton's Illustrations, vol. i. pl. 45. Cayley has given examples of the leopard, standing and sitting. Tome iii. pl. 64, 65. A figure of Capricorn was found at Wiesbaden. A Roman eagle, found at Lulbach, has been regarded as that of the

22nd or Britannic Legion, it being recorded that an *Aquilifer*, on a defeat in Franconia in the times of Augustus, buried the eagle. It weighs 7lb., and measures 13 inches in height. A run occurs on a standard on Trajan's column.

and presenting an instructive example of the Roman system of fortification as shown in Germany, a central insulated tower with a high and strong enclosure. He observed that Skenfrith Castle in Monmouthshire presents some analogy in its general arrangement. In the same publication by the Baden Society is represented a singular effigy of St. Nothburga, existing at Hochhausen on the Neckar, a crowned figure, on an altar tomb. She holds a serpent (?), from whose mouth hangs a branch or sprig of some plant, and the same animal appears at her feet. This subject is accompanied by a memoir by C. B. Fickler. The advancement of Archaeological Science in Germany, Mr. Strangways remarked, had been greatly promoted through the intelligence of M. De Bayer, director of the Baden Society, under whose care their transactions had assumed an important position in Archaeological literature.

By Mr. J. T. IRVINE.—Representations of a sculptured stone, found in the island of Uya in Shetland. It appears to have been part of a head-stone, and may be assigned to the times of the earliest introduction of Christianity in the sixth century,—sketches of the upper portion of the chancel-arch in the church of Kirk at Ness, North Yell, Shetland, dedicated to St. Olave; of a standing stone or *maenhir* in the island of Yell; and of a head-stone found at a spot now called the Kirks of Gloup, in Yell. Two sketches of the Roman leaden coffin found, Sept. 1811, in the Old Kent Road, London. It was ornamented with two figures of Minerva at top, and two scallop shells at the foot, in relief. (*Archæologia*, vol. xvii. pl. 25, p. 334.) Also a specimen of elaborate medieval locksmiths' work, and several coins.

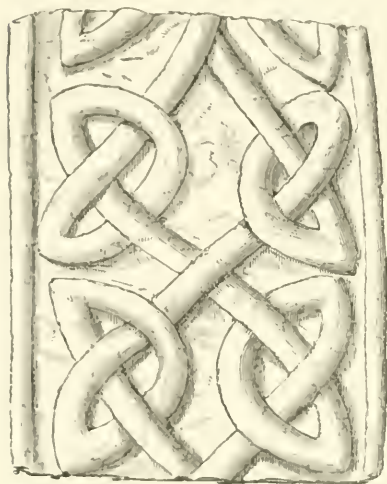
By Mr. RONDE HAWKINS.—A chess-piece, supposed to be a king, formed of the tusk of the walrus. Date, XIIth century.

By the Rev. WALTER SNEYD.—A silver cross, exquisitely engraved. Date, XIVth century. It had probably been fixed in a small pedestal, and used in a private oratory. On one side is the crucifix, with demi-figures of the Virgin and St. John introduced in the quatrefoiled extremities of the transverse limb. On the reverse is seen the Virgin and infant Saviour, the field enriched with an elegant fretty diaper. This beautiful little object had probably been enriched with translucent enamel, now wholly lost.

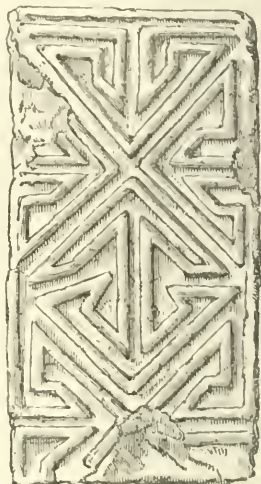
By Mr. EDWARD W. GODWIN.—Representation of two mural paintings in Ditteridge church, Wiltshire, subsequently to the discovery previously noticed in this Journal, vol. x. p. 78. One subject in the compartments lately exposed represents St. Christopher, a mermaid is introduced in front of the Saint's staff; the other is St. Michael holding the scales of judgment; the image of Sin in one of them is very expressive. Also drawings of three sculptured figures found some years since, built into an interior wall of the Angel Inn, Marshfield, Gloucestershire. One of them is the Virgin, seated, and probably formed the centre of a series. They are all crowned. Fragment of a medieval dish of glazed ware, of highly ornamented character, possibly Moorish. It was found on the site of the Dominican Priory at Bristol, and when entire the dish must have measured about $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter.

By Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN, M.P.—An episcopal ring of silver gilt, set with a large cut garnet, and opening with a box to contain relics. Three singular lanterns, one of bronze, of the later part of the XVIIth century, one of Hispano-Arabie ware, with metallic glaze, and ornamented with flowers, and a third of red glazed ware with yellow spots, possibly of Flemish manufacture. — A folding *viatorium*, or portable sun-dial, of ivory.

By Mr. W. HYLTON LONGSTAFFE.—Representations of two sculptured fragments, portions probably of crosses, existing in the church at Stainton-le-street, co. Durham. (See woodcuts.) Their date is considered by Mr. Westwood to be prior to the IXth century.



N.W. angle of nave.



N. wall of choir.

Stainton-le-street, co. Durham.

(Scale, 2 inches to the foot.)

One of the fragments here represented is built in at an angle in the nave; the other side visible is quite plain; the second fragment is in the North wall of the choir. A road, apparently Roman, ran through Stainton-le-street. The church is placed on a kind of platform, and it is surrounded by remains of buildings still to be discerned beneath the turf.

Impressions from Seals.—By Mr. ROBERT FITCH.—Impression from a seal lately found at Field-Dalling, near Holt, Norfolk. It is of pointed oval form, the device is a badger (?) * SIGILL' * PETRI * D' DALLINGE. Date, about 1300. The family of that name held lands in Dalling as early as 10th John; Peter, son of Philip de Dalling, occurs about 30 Hen. III., and 14 Edw. I. Eustace, son of Peter de Dalling, occurs 2 Edw. III. The owner of this seal may have been one of the Rectors of Dalling, the form being that usually adopted by ecclesiastics; William de Dalling was Rector in 1333 (Blomefield, vol. ix. pp. 219—222).

By Mr. READY.—An extensive collection of casts from seals of the Imperial series, commencing with the seal of Charlemagne, A.D. 800, and Louis I. his son and successor, and comprising the greater part of the magnificent Imperial seals of the XIVth and XVth centuries. The earlier examples present some remarkable illustrations of the use of antique intaglios, or copies from antiques, in the Carlovingian age. A seal of considerable interest to the English collector is that of Richard, Earl of Cornwall, king of the Romans, 1257, from a remarkably perfect impression preserved on the continent.

APRIL 13, 1855.

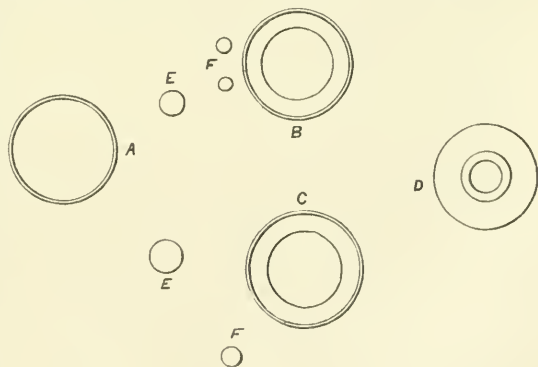
The Hon. RICHARD C. NEVILLE, F.S.A., Vice-President, in the Chair.

Mr. NEVILLE read the following account of Roman sepulchral remains lately found in Essex:—

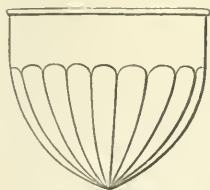
“In consequence of information received, I rode over on the 2nd April to Hatfield Broad Oak, Essex, to visit Mr. Thomas Cocks, surgeon, and inspect Roman remains in his possession, discovered in the parish of Takeley, which intervenes between Hatfield and that of Stanstead Mountfitchet. I accomplished my object, and in the course of a few days received from Mr. Cocks a sketch of the articles found, with a memorandum of the date and circumstances of the discovery. The following are the particulars sent to me, with my own observations on the objects discovered, and an account of another funeral deposit of similar nature more recently found in the same neighbourhood.

“Mr. Cocks says—‘In compliance with your request, I send you drawings of the articles found in a field belonging to Mr. Harvey Clarke, not far from the road near Takeley Church; they were deposited in a box about 3 feet long by $1\frac{1}{2}$ deep, and fastened by the brass hasp now in my possession. The box was about a foot and a half from the surface. It was found by a labourer employed in land-ditching, January, 1849. The box was greatly decayed, and the fragments crumbled to pieces.’ The objects found in it are as follow, and

the accompanying woodcut shows their relative position in the chest:—A circular basin of green glass (A), with fluted sides, terminating in a lemon-shaped pointed end. This is in the possession of Mr. Clarke, the farmer, and I did not see it; in this basin stood a circular glass bottle, about 8 inches high, and



and nearly 4 inches in diameter, with a reeded handle.



This bottle was full of clay, the soil of the place, and the inside of the basin bears marks on its surface made where the bottle stood when discovered. Remains of probably an urn of sun-dried blue clay, (D) full of fragments of calcined bones; the clay of which it was made was full of fragments of shells, or probably granulated with small pebbles, of which kind of pottery I have many specimens. Two saucers of plain Samian ware, (B. C.) with potters' marks,



rings of plain brass, not finger rings, but probably part of some personal ornament of the persons buried. Similar rings are of frequent occurrence in my experience among Roman remains. Mr. Cocks appeared surprised when I assured him they were not what has been frequently termed 'ring money.' Two second brass coins; (F. F.) one of Vespasian, one of Domitian; the former coin has been struck imperfectly with the head of the emperor on the reverse as well as obverse, which is properly stamped. The positions of some objects are marked in the sketch, described as fragments of lamps (E. E.), but of these I know nothing further.

* The other discovery to which I have alluded took place in the end of last February, or beginning of March, on the property of Wm. Fuller Maitland, Esq., of Stanstead. The spot where it occurred is in Takeley parish, near the borders of Hatfield, or, as it is called there, Takeley Forest, about two miles to the south-east of Mr. Maitland's residence. Some labourers were employed in stubbing an old hedge; an oak stood upon a small mound in the middle of it; under this tree the men found, and unfortunately broke most of the following objects, now in Mr. Maitland's possession, which I have seen and examined:—A circular lamp of bronze, with a lid and top, about 2 inches high and 2 in diameter; this is uninjured, as well as a cup of the same metal in form like a modern drinking horn, being nearly 4 inches high, and not quite 2 in diameter at bottom and top. Fragments of several other bronze vessels were shown to me, amongst which I traced four different ones; the most perfect of these has a bronze horizontal handle, ornamented, in shape like one found in Thornborough barrow, Bucks, by the Duke of Buckingham, now in my possession, which has belonged to a flat pan in both instances, probably sacrificial. I also saw fragments of two glass bottles very much shattered. The only vessels of pottery found were an embossed Samian bowl, which, though broken, has been very nearly restored. It has the usual festoon and tassel border, and medallions, each containing the wolf and twins; no maker's name appears upon it, but there are some fragments wanting, which prevents my asserting there has been none. A flat dish of plain Samian ware, with potter's name, MASCULL M., and a small vessel of the same manufacture, of peculiar shape. It is circular, rather more than 2 inches diameter at top and bottom, and as many in height, being in shape like a box with a circular hole in the top big enough to admit the thumb. The edges of this aperture are smooth and rounded, and the ware is perfect. I have never seen a vessel of similar form, but have no doubt it is an *unguentarium*, for which it is well adapted. No traces of a wooden chest were observed, but these might easily escape the notice of the labourers. The ground was afterwards examined in the vicinity of the mound without finding further remains. Possibly when the forest was inclosed, a strip of timber was left standing to serve as a hedge, and the mound, which was no doubt a small tumulus, would thus remain undisturbed. The site of this discovery is between two and three miles from that where the deposit first described was found.—In December, 1851, a vase of light-green coloured glass, with a flat bottom, in shape like an oval dessert dish, and with fluted sides, resembling that in the possession of Mr. Clarke, of Saffron Walden, was exhibited at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries by Mr. Roach Smith. It was described as found in Takeley Forest, which appears to be rich in Roman remains. Mr. Cocks also informs me that Mr. Robert Judd, a farmer of Copt Hall, White Roding, distant two miles to the south of Hatfield, has found numerous vessels of fictile ware, amongst which he mentioned lamps,

objects of comparatively rare occurrence. White Roding is close to Matching, about five miles from Harlow."

Mr. BLAAUW communicated a note addressed to him by Mr. R. G. P. MINTY, of Petersfield, relating to the discovery of Roman remains, about two miles N. W. of that place, and in the parish of Froxfield, Hants. The site is near an encampment which has been assigned to the Roman period. Some labourers had recently brought to light a place resembling a shallow bath, about 3 ft. 7 in. square, paved with Roman flanged tiles (16 in. by 13 in.), placed with the flanges downwards, and lined with a row of similar tiles. The depth of the cavity, when examined by Mr. Minty, was about 13 inches, the width of a tile, and at the N.W. angle were remains of *imbrices*, placed to serve as draining tiles on the level of the floor, and apparently communicating with an adjacent fosse. The subsoil is stiff clay, which would retain water for a considerable time. Near the spot where the drain would open into the fosse, now part of a lane, fragments of Samian and other Roman wares were recently found. On a second visit Mr. Minty found the whole taken up and broken in pieces through wanton mischief; he had, however, secured specimens of the tiles, which are well made, and the flanges cut so that the tiles might dovetail together; a portion of the flange being cut away from the lower as well as the upper end, a mode of adjustment not invariably found in Roman tiles of this kind in England. The camp is of small size, in a strong position, defended by a triple fosse on the N. W. side and a single fosse on the S. E.; it occupies the termination of a range of heights overlooking a valley of considerable extent. On the N. E. side no line of defence is apparent, but Roman tile abounds, with remains of rubble-work, apparently foundations. Earthworks, tumuli, and other vestiges, occur in the adjacent district.

Mr. W. D. HYLTON LONGSTAFFE, F.S.A., author of the History of Darlington, sent a memoir on the church of Norton, in the county of Durham. It will be found in this volume, p. 141.

The Rev. J. MAUGHAN, Rector of Bewcastle, Cumberland, communicated a memoir on the sculptured cross at that place, and the interpretations of the Runes engraved upon it, hitherto unexplained. They have become in great part legible through the results of an ingenious process for many weeks carried on under his care, in order to detach the lichens with which the stone is encrusted. Mr. Maughan has very kindly presented to the Institute a cast from the principal inscription, and drawings of this remarkable cross. His memoir will be given hereafter.

Mr. WESTWOOD read a letter from Mr. Shurlock, of Chertsey, relating to the discoveries of decorative pavement tiles on the site of the Abbey Church, where extensive excavations are actually in progress. Very numerous fragments have recently been found; they are all of the same elaborate design and artistic character as the examples, of which Mr. Westwood had previously exhibited careful delineations by Mr. Shurlock. (See page 96, in this volume.) Amongst these tiles, which appear chiefly of the close of the XIIIth century, there occurs a crossbowman mounted, his saddle being formed with singularly high projection before and behind, in order to give a firm seat and enable the rider to take steady aim. Mr. HEWITT observed that mounted *arbalétriers* appear in illuminations; for instance, in Roy. MS. 20, D. i., in the British Museum.

Mr. HAWKINS related the following singular discovery of gold coins, and the liberal proceedings of the Government on this occasion in regard to the rights of Treasure-trove:—

“ A few weeks since, as a servant was chopping wood, the log of wood which had served for a chopping-block for several years, suddenly split, and out flew fifty guineas of the reigns of Charles II. and James II. These were at once sent to the Lords of the Treasury, who, having allowed the British Museum to select such as were required for the national collection, sent back to the proprietor the remainder, and also the amount paid by the Museum for the selected pieces. It is hoped and believed that the liberality displayed by the Lords of the Treasury, upon this and other similar occasions, will be a means of preserving from destruction many objects of interest and value. It is highly desirable that these proceedings of the Treasury should be as extensively known as possible.”

Mr. NEVILLE observed that so gratifying an evidence of the disposition of the Government to carry out a more liberal course of proceeding in reference to Treasure-trove, and to adopt the practice which had been attended with most advantageous results to archæological science in Denmark, must be hailed by the Institute with lively satisfaction. The judicious and energetic proceedings of their noble President, and the interview which the Premier had given to Lord Talbot, accompanied by a deputation from the Society, in which he (Mr. Neville) had taken part, as also the Viscount Straungford and some other leading members of the Institute, with the special object of soliciting the attention of Government to the evils which arise from enforcing that ancient right of the crown, had doubtless contributed to this result. Mr. Neville remarked, however, that antiquaries were especially indebted to the unwearied remonstrances and mediation of Mr. Hawkins, who for many years had earnestly exerted himself to bring about a more lenient and enlightened course of proceeding in such cases.

A conversation ensued regarding the ultimate destination of the museum formed by Mr. C. ROACH SMITH;—the importance of such a classified series of illustrations of the progressive manufactures and arts of the chief city of England, the habits and manners of its inhabitants at various periods, and the essential interest of the collection, formed exclusively in London, in its bearing on historical inquiries, and the exemplification of all that concerns the social condition or civilisation of the metropolis in former ages. In reply to an inquiry by Mr. Westwood, it was stated by Mr. Hawkins that the trustees of the British Museum had refused the offer of these collections, which had been tendered through the President of the Institute, Lord Talbot, in conjunction with Lord Londesborough and Sir John Boileau. Mr. Roach Smith's offer of his museum, at the amount which he had actually expended, had been declined, it is understood, without any proposition for further negotiation, or explanations of the grounds on which so valuable a means of public instruction had been rejected.

Antiquities and Works of Art exhibited.

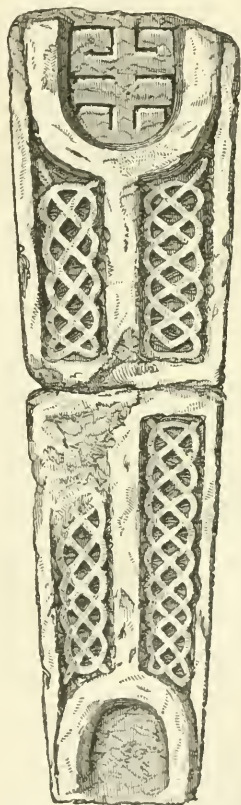
By Mr. J. YATES.—A collection of antique terracottas, belonging to Mr. Rogers, brother of the poet, and comprising some *antefixe* and ornaments of great beauty. Several of these examples resemble the examples preserved in the British Museum, and engraved in the series published by the late Mr. Taylor Combe.—Mr. Yates brought also a drawing of the Norman keep at Richmond Castle, Yorkshire, by Mr. Moore, of York.

By Mr. C. C. BAUNSETON, through kind permission of the Rev. S. Banks, Rector of Cottenham, Cambridgeshire.—A bronze galeated bust, found in a gravel pit with much broken Roman pottery, in the parish of Cottenham. The spot is near the ancient watercourse, supposed to be part of the southern

extension of the Car Dyke. (See Mr. Babington's Ancient Cambridgeshire. Publications of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 8vo, p. 65.) This remarkable relique of Roman art may have been one of the Imperial busts which were attached to Roman standards. It measures 8 inches in height, and is in very perfect preservation. It deserves notice, as Mr. Franks observed, how many Roman antiquities of a fine character of art or workmanship have been brought to light in Cambridgeshire. He cited especially the bronze bust for a stilyard weight, in Mr. Neville's museum, another in the possession of Mr. Litchfield of Cambridge, the bronze vases and *præfericulum* found some years since near Trumpington, and now in the Library at Trinity College, the reliques disinterred in the Bartlow Hills, the vase of Arrhetine ware found at Foxton, in the Museum of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, and the rich contents of the *Ustrinum* excavated by the Rev. Dr. Webb at Litlington.

By Mr. FRANKS.—Two objects found in the Thames,—a small bronze two-edged blade, suited for a knife or dagger, length only 6 inches, and a bronze sheath, length 8 inches, much resembling that found in the Isis, near Dorchester, figured in this Journal, vol. x., p. 259. (Fig. on right side of the page, the bluntly pointed sheath without ornament.) A third, found in the Thames, is in the Museum of Practical Geology, it was presented by Dr. Roots; and there is one, not quite perfect, in Mr. C. Roach Smith's Museum, figured in his Catalogue, p. 81. A similar bronze sheath is in the Collection of Irish Antiquities formed by Mr. Wakeman, at Dublin. Mr. Franks pointed out that in the example exhibited, as likewise in some others, there are round holes at about mid-length, a short distance from the central ridge, not pierced one opposite to the other, so as to form a continuous perforation through the sheath, but alternately, that on one side of the sheath being on the dexter side of the ridge, that on the reverse on its sinister side. Plugs of wood usually appear in these holes, the intention of which has not been explained.

By Mr. WAY.—A representation of the sculptured coffin stone or grave slab, now preserved in the vestibule of the Fitzwilliam Museum, at Cambridge. It closely resembles the slabs found in Cambridge Castle, when great part of it was destroyed in 1810. There were found at the same time two stone coffins, head-stones with plain crosses, and the head of a cross, such as were placed erect in cemeteries; this last is now in the Architectural Museum, Canon Row, and has been figured in this Journal, vol. xii., p. 70. Almost all these reliques present the same character of ornament, the *guilloches* or the simple interlaced riband pattern, crosses at both ends of the slabs, &c. All the slabs are wider at the head than the foot.




Coffin slab found at Cambridge Castle.

Length, 5 ft. 4½ in. Breadth at top, 21 in.; at foot, 1½ in.

Several have been engraved in the *Archæologia*, vol. xvii., p. 228, with a notice by the late Rev. T. Kerrieh, whose original drawings and notes of the discovery exist in the Brit. Mus., Add. MS., 6735, fol. 189, 190. The Castle at Cambridge was built by the Conqueror; these remains were found under the original ramparts, and their date may be assigned to the Xth century. The slab here represented was dug up more recently, 10 or 12 feet from the foundation of the castle, to the south. It lay outside the castle, in gravel, at a depth of about 6 feet, and in the direction of north and south. Date, about Xth century.

By Mr. VILLIAMY.—Two bronze swords, lately found in the Thames, and now preserved in Mr. C. Roach Smith's Museum. Also a bronze Roman armlet, found in London, from the same collection.

By Mr. WESTWOOD.—A drawing of a small round brooch of silver, preserved in the British Museum, and bearing the inscription— ÆLFGYV ME AN.—Ælfgyvu owns me (Ang. Sax. *agan*, to own.) It was found about 1814 at Chatham. The name Ælfgyvu, Mr. Westwood observed, occurs on the Bayeux Tapestry; Stothard's plates, *Vetusta Monum.* vol. vi., pl. 4. Mr. Westwood brought also a *benitoire*, or small holy-water vessel of crystal, of the XVth century, engraved on the reverse in the same manner as the circular "magic crystal" of King Lothaire (A.D. 954—986), formerly at the Abbey of Vaser, and lately purchased for the British Museum at the



Silver brooch. Original size.

Bernal sale. On this object the history of Susanna appears, cut in intaglio, and seen through the crystal. Over the central subject is inscribed—"Lotharius rex Francorum fieri jussit." The vessel shown by Mr. Westwood, as an earlier example of the same kind of art, presents the instruments of the Passion—the cross, scourge, vernicle, sponge, spear, ladder, hammer, pincers, chalice, three dice, the cock on a pillar, the purse, lantern, seamless coat, and Peter's sword, with the ear of Malchus. At the foot of the cross are three nails. Mr. Westwood produced a drawing of a painted panel at Cassington Church, Oxfordshire, on which the symbols and instruments of our Lord's Passion are shown in nearly the same manner.

By the Rev. WALTER SNEYD.—The horn of an ox, mounted in gilt metal as a drinking-horn, thus inscribed around the mouth—*Op: maato: taka: mik: a: maato: sca: mik: forrode.* (or *forrode*), which may be rendered—Up must thou take me, and see me all round; or,—Up should I betaken, and see me empty. On another band of later date is written,—*GRYNDE: OLS: SON: OVSTA: 1764.* Grande son of Olaf or Olaus of Ousta. This horn is supposed to be Danish, probably of the XVth century.

By Mr. ROBERT MACADAM.—A representation of a powder-horn, of dark coloured or bog oak, with bands and foliated ornaments, interlaced work, &c., of horn, fastened on by pegs of the same substance, which pass entirely through the wooden horn. Some of the ornament approaches in character to that of a very early period, but the date of the horn is probably about 1600. It was found in the county of Antrim. It will be figured in the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*.^a

^a Compare the horn found in Iceland, *Archæologia*, vol. xi. pl. 21, on which interlaced circles, ribband-work, &c., is combined

with scroll foliations. The tradition of an earlier style of ornaments may be noticed on objects made in Scotland, as also in

By Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN, M.P.—A gold enameled hunting watch, date 1630, or 1640. The four subjects on the front, back, and inner side of the lid and case, represent the chief incidents in the Episode of Tancredi and Clorinda in the “Gierusalemme Liberata” of Tasso.

By Mr. HEWITT.—Two powder-flasks, and a *rondache* of cuirbouilli, embossed with armed figures on horseback on both sides, and with a steel spike. From the Bernal collection. Of the former, one is of delicate Italian marqueterie work, the other is German. The buckler is remarkable as having a small lantern attached to the upper edge. There is an Italian target, date about 1540, in the Goodrich Court Armory, formed with an aperture for a similar adjustment, an expedient used in nightly conflicts. Skelton's Illustrations, vol. i., pl. 52.

By Mr. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH.—A birding-piece of the time of Charles I.—A carving in oak, representing the adoration of the Golden Calf; the Demon appears playing on the violin, whilst the Israelites are dancing.

Impressions of seals.—By the Rev. H. T. ELLACOMBE.—Facsimile of the seal of John Huse, taken from a document in Mr. Ellacombe's possession. The seal is of circular form, and presents an escutcheon charged with these arms, Barry of six, *erm.* and—within a bordure escalloped. ✠ S'IOHANNIS : HUSE. The bearing, barry of six, *erm.* and *gules*, but without a bordure, was borne by various branches of the family of Hussey, anciently settled in Dorset, Wilts, and other parts of England, and it is quartered by Edward Hussey, Esq., of Seotney Castle, co. Sussex. Mr. Ellacombe stated that the “Johannes Huse, dominus de Charlecumbe,” to whom this seal belonged, was living in 1240, as ascertained by the *Prepositi* of Bristol named amongst the witnesses to the deed. The manor of Charlecumbe near Bath was held at the time of the Domesday survey of the Abbey of Bath by William Hosett or Hosatus, and by his descendants subsequently for several generations.⁹

By Mr. READY.—Facsimiles taken in gutta percha from two impressions of the seal of Richard, Duke of Gloucester, who succeeded as king Richard III. It displays an escutcheon of the arms of France and England, quarterly, with a label of three points. Helm and lambrequins, with the crest, a lion statant. The supporters are two boars.—*Sigillum . magnum . ricardi . ducis . gloucestrie*. This is one of the numerous acquisitions obtained by Mr. Ready in the Treasury at Queen's College, Cambridge, to which, as also to the muniments of several other colleges, he has liberally been permitted to have access.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE AUDITORS, MAY, 1845.

We, the undersigned, having examined the accounts (with the vouchers) of the Archaeological Institute, for the year 1854, do hereby certify that the same do present a true statement of the receipts and payments for that year, and from them has been prepared the following abstract, dated this 5th day of May, 1855:—

(Signed)

GEO. GILBERT SCOTT.

WM. PARKER HAMOND, Jun. } *Auditors.*

Ireland. Compare the Highland powder-horn, presenting features of a very early age, but dated 1685, probably its real date. Wilson's Prehistoric Annals, p. 221.

⁹ Collinson, Hist. of Somerset, vol. i. p.

141. Madox gives a lease of land in Ceorlecumbe to William Hosett by Wlfwold and Gelfsig, abbots of Bath, towards the close of the reign of the Conqueror. Form. Angl. p. 73.

Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

ABSTRACT OF CASH ACCOUNT FROM JANUARY 1 TO DECEMBER 31, 1854.

RECEIPTS.

| | £ | s. | d. | £ | s. | d. |
|---|----|----|----|-----|----|----|
| Balance at Bankers, December 31, 1853 | 43 | 8 | 5 | | | |
| " in hands of Secretary | 1 | 16 | 8 | | | |
| Annual Subscriptions, including arrears | | | | 45 | 5 | 1 |
| Entrance Fees | | | | 583 | 14 | 0 |
| Life Contributions | | | | 29 | 8 | 0 |
| Receipts for Sale of Works | | | | 52 | 0 | 0 |
| Net Receipts of Cambridge Meeting, with Donations | | | | 106 | 13 | 0 |
| | | | | 288 | 19 | 3 |

£1105 19 4

EXPENDITURE.

| | £ | s. | d. | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|----|----|-------|----|----|
| House Expenses, viz. | | | | | | |
| House Rent | | | | 160 | 0 | 0 |
| Secretary's Salary | | | | 150 | 0 | 0 |
| Stationery | | | | 10 | 1 | 7 |
| Printing Circulars, &c. | | | | 16 | 5 | 6 |
| Publication Account: | | | | | | |
| Printing | | | | 450 | 0 | 0 |
| Drawing and Engraving | | | | 136 | 6 | 6 |
| Lithography | | | | 28 | 14 | 8 |
| Purchase of Books | | | | 614 | 1 | 2 |
| Repair (Mr. Carter's payment twice credited Cambridge Receipt Account) | | | | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Housekeeper's wages and disbursements | | | | 3 | 3 | 0 |
| Clerk's ditto | | | | 30 | 0 | 0 |
| Postages, including distribution of the Journal | | | | 18 | 13 | 0 |
| to Country Members one year, booking parcels, and other Office expenses | | | | 60 | 7 | 0 |
| Balance at Bankers, December 31, 1854 | | | | 109 | 0 | 0 |
| " in Secretary's hands | | | | 37 | 12 | 11 |
| | | | | 2 | 15 | 2 |
| | | | | £1105 | 19 | 4 |

(Signed)

GEO. GILBERT SCOTT.
WM. PARKER HAMOND, Jun.

Submitted and approved, May 21, 1855. R. C. NEVILLE,
Vice-President.





MONUMENT IN TONG CHURCH, SHROPSHIRE.

Designed to represent Sir Richard Vernon, Treasurer of Calais, who died A. D. 1451

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

ANTIQUITIES OF SHROPSHIRE. By the Rev. R. W. EYTON, Rector of Ryton. London: John Russell Smith, 36, Soho Square. B. L. Beddow, Shifnal. Vols. I. and II. 8vo. With Illustrations of Early Architectural Examples, from Drawings by the Rev. J. L. Petit. (Three hundred copies only printed.) 1854-55. To be completed in Five Volumes.

WE regard with cordial satisfaction every exertion that is made to extend our knowledge of county history. The minute details into which the topographer is necessarily obliged to enter, contribute very essentially to the enlargement of historical truth; and of all kinds of histories, there is none can interest us more than those relating to spots and districts with which we are individually familiar. But in the volumes before us we discover more than the common attractions of topography, inasmuch as Mr. Eyton's labours throw new light upon one of the most interesting counties in Great Britain, hitherto too much neglected in the course of Archaeological investigation, and introduce its medieval antiquities for the first time to public notice.

It is not a little remarkable that so extensive a district as Shropshire should, up to the appearance of the present work, have received less attention than any other portion of England. Yet its claims on the score of interest can yield to none. Indeed, in many of those points to which the historian chiefly directs his attention, such as the antiquities of the earlier ages, the British battle-fields, vestiges of Roman occupation, manorial and genealogical research, the county of Salop is pre-eminently attractive.

At the commencement of the XVIIIth century a Shropshire gentleman began to search amongst the public documents for the illustration of his native county. The result of his labours lay in obscurity for a considerable length of time, and it was not until a very recent period that the original manuscript was discovered, though two or three transcripts were in existence. One amongst Gough's manuscripts in the Bodleian was frequently consulted. Mr. Eyton's work is carried out very much on the same plan as these collections made by Mr. Mytton, being, like his, essentially written from unpublished archives in the custody of the Master of the Rolls, or amongst private evidences. The author, therefore, of the "Antiquities of Shropshire," has rendered the county an important benefit by communicating the result of his labours in that rich and almost unexplored mine of information. If he had done nothing more than print a series of extracts from the evidences belonging to the people of England, he would have deserved the thanks of an enquiring public, by rescuing these facts from ultimate oblivion—to which all facts are inevitably consigned as long as they remain in manuscripts and confined to perhaps only one record. But he has done more, for by taking up his history at the period when the author of "*Salopia Antiqua*" left off, and giving his toil to events which rest on the indubitable testimony of official statements, he has greatly augmented our knowledge of the medieval history of Shropshire.

As far as this work has proceeded it is entitled to our warmest approbation, for the very clear and simple method of its arrangement, and for the soundness with which the author has in many cases of difficulty arrived at his conclusions. The history of the peculiarly interesting and picturesque town of Bridgnorth is followed out with much care. We seem to have the very freshness of the Pipe Rolls themselves in the whole of this section, but placed so methodically before us that the student may draw from this undiluted source with refreshment and additional knowledge. The squabbles between the Ecclesiastics of the Burgh, and the intercourse held with the town by king John, are very fully set forth, and this portion is so complete, that we regret more space had not been given up to the history of Robert de Belesme, whose name above all others is prominent in its earliest annals.

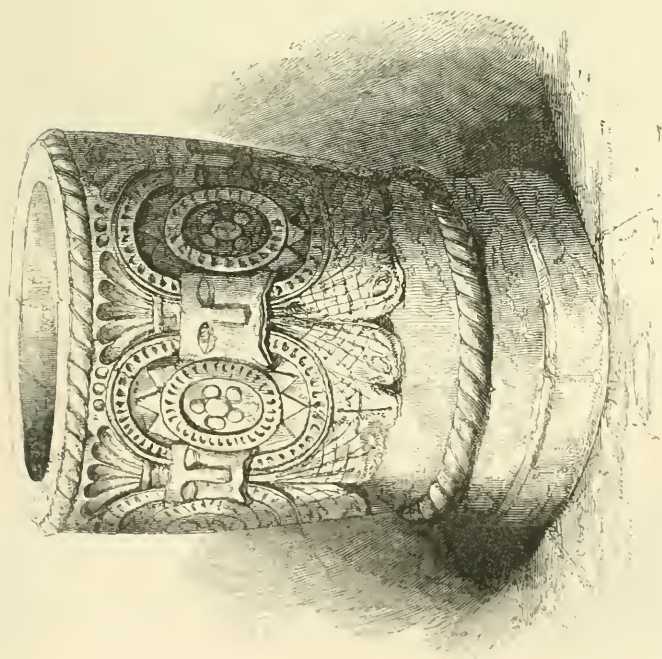
As the value of this unpretending and laborious work becomes known, and its progress advances, it will satisfactorily remove the stigma from Shropshire, that it possesses no county history, and show to the literary world that they owe works of this nature to the unselfish energies of private gentlemen, who, like the late Mr. Blakeway, Archdeacon Owen, Mr. Rowlands, and Mr. Hartshorne, can find time from the labours of their profession, to devote their talents to the investigation of the history of their own county.

Mr. Petit, with his usual freedom of pencil, and his desire to forward Mr. Eyton's labours, has placed some of his own at the disposal of the author, who has been aided likewise by the Rev. J. Brooke, in the illustration of various subjects of interest. It will give us gratification to learn not only that Mr. Eyton's work receives sufficient encouragement to enable him to bring it to a satisfactory completion, but that persons who are individually interested in the county will follow the example thus set them, by the contribution of other illustrations.

Shropshire contains numerous examples of church architecture, possessing features of interest to the student of that class of antiquities. The magnificent monastic structures now in picturesque decay, are inferior in importance perhaps only to the abbeys of Yorkshire, but it is in the more simple rural churches, many of which in remote parts of the Western Marches have remained almost unknown, that the Ecclesiologist will find gratification in this district. Mr. Eyton has not contemplated in the work before us, relating mainly to the interval which elapsed between the Conquest and the death of Henry III., to describe or illustrate the churches of all those parishes, the early history of which he has so successfully developed. The interesting examples, however, of the earlier period, such as Morville, the *Membrefelde* of Domesday, Quatford, Upton Cressett, with its rich Norman door and singular jar-shaped font, Linley and Shiffnal, are brought under notice in these volumes, and their peculiar features are illustrated by Mr. Petit's skilful pencil. The readers of this Journal will remember with pleasure the Memoir relating to Tong Church, which Mr. Petit kindly contributed almost at the commencement of our publication. Mr. Eyton has devoted much attention to that interesting structure, and entered fully into the history of the earlier lords of Tong, de Belmeis, and la Zouche, the Pembruges and the Vernons, and the exquisite tombs of alabaster, which will present no ordinary attraction to the student of mediæval sculpture, on the occasion of the visit of the Institute to Shropshire, this year. Mr. Eyton has at length appropriated, as we believe correctly, the earliest of these impressive memorials, and we are



FONT IN LINLEY CHAPEL.



FONT IN MORVILLE CHURCH.

indebted to his kindness for permission to place before our readers the accompanying woodcut, from a drawing by the Rev. J. Brooke. We must refer to Mr. Eyton's volumes for other illustrations of this most picturesque church, well deserving of a visit for the sake of many time-honoured memories, and not least as having preserved the verse of eulogy on Sir Edward Stanley, attributed to Shakspeare.

There exist many other examples of monumental sculpture in Shropshire well deserving of attention, and we observe with pleasure that Mr. Eyton has recognised the interest of these sepulchral portraitures, deficient, it may be, in artistic perfection, but very valuable as regards their authentic originality. The cross-legged effigy of Sir Walter de Dunstanvill, now in the Abbey church at Shrewsbury, appears amongst the illustrations of the second volume ; he took active part in the affairs of the times of Henry II. and died, probably at Wombridge Priory, having retired from the world in the reign of Cœur de Lion, about 1195. As examples of sculpture in the Norman period we may invite attention to the curious baptismal fonts in this part of England ; of two, at Linley and at Morville, parishes closely adjacent in the neighbourhood of Bridgnorth, Mr. Eyton has enabled us to give the accompanying representations. They present a greater similarity in design than is usually found in productions of a period when repetition or imitation seems to have been sedulously avoided. The south door at Linley Chapel is not less deserving of notice than its font (see woodcut) and more especially the vertical herring-bone work with which the tympanum



Capital, Morville Church.

is filled in so unusual a manner. At Morville there was a collegiate foundation in Saxon times, and the font may possibly be a relique of that age ; the church presents features of Norman work, but great part of the fabric is to be referred to that interesting Transitional period, when the pure Norman style was beginning to make way for the Gothic which succeeded



DOORWAY, SOUTH SIDE OF LINLEY CHAPEL.

it. In this instance, the arches are semi-circular, their mouldings indicating the incipient change, whilst in other buildings, as in that most instructive example of this interesting epoch of architecture, Buildwas Abbey Church, the transition is marked in the form of the arch.

We have thankfully availed ourselves of the author's kindness in bringing before our readers some of those illustrative features of his work, with the desire, more especially at a time when the notice of the Institute is directed towards Shropshire, to invite attention to the interesting character of that district, and to the value of Mr. Eyton's arduous undertaking. We heartily wish him a large measure of that encouragement and cordial interest in his purpose to which he is so justly entitled.

Archaeological Intelligence.

The Cambrian Archaeological Association has recently produced the third number of the new series of their journal. (London, J. R. Smith.) It is issued quarterly to members only. Mr. Westwood has continued his valuable series of illustrations of early inscribed monuments in Wales. Mr. Longueville Jones contributes the Church of Beaumaris, in continuation of his "*Mona Mediæva*," and a very curious account of Capel Trillo, in Caernarvonshire, a diminutive structure vaulted over with rough stones, and enclosing a holy well. Mr. Wright gives a notice of the ancient fortified mansion of Treago, in Herefordshire, and of the "Tump," or great mound at St. Weonard's, opened in April last under his directions, when its sepulchral character was clearly shown.—The annual meeting of the Association will take place in September, at Llandeilo Fawr, Caermarthenshire.

An important benefit has been secured for the preservation of ancient vestiges in North Britain, and the permanent record of local facts of great value to the archaeologist and the historian. At the instance of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, the government have determined that, in the future prosecution of the Ordnance Survey of Scotland, especial attention be directed to all ancient remains, camps, roads, tumuli, &c., and their position carefully indicated. Lord Panmure, in announcing to the Marquis of Breadalbane, President of the Society, the ready compliance of the Hon. Board of Ordnance on this occasion, expresses the request for local information from the ministers of parishes, and other persons, in furtherance of so desirable an object. This important result has been attained through the suggestion of an intelligent antiquary, known to the readers of this journal through his curious researches in the Orkneys, Mr. A. H. Rhind. The subject was brought before the society by him in April last.

The annual meeting of the Caerleon Antiquarian Association, will take place at Caerwent, on August 16. A complete investigation of the Roman remains there will forthwith be undertaken, under the direction of Mr. J. Y. Akerman, Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries.

ERRATUM

The Note at the end of the last number of the Journal, p. 108, as to Godfrey de la Rokele, should have been omitted; an opportunity having occurred of inserting the substance of it in the text at p. 75.

The Archaeological Journal.

SEPTEMBER, 1855.

ON THE ROMAN ANTIQUITIES FROM THE NORTH OF
ENGLAND IN THE LIBRARIES OF TRINITY AND ST.
JOHN'S COLLEGES, CAMBRIDGE.¹

BY THE REV. JOHN COLLINGWOOD BRUCE, LL.D., F.S.A.

To the student of the Roman Antiquities of the North of England, Cambridge has a peculiar attraction. Several altars and inscribed stones, derived from the region of the Roman Wall, are there preserved. The collection is not large, but it possesses great historic value. Nearly every stone sheds light upon the early annals of our country. Although much has already been written upon the subject of these stony documents, it may not be amiss to call the attention of the Institute to them, now that it has met within the bounds of the ancient borough of Cambridge. The inspection of them will be all the more interesting from the locality whence they were taken having been visited by the Institute two years ago.

In the year 1600, Camden and Sir Robert Cotton visited the Roman Wall. In consequence of the disturbed state of the district, and the "rank robbers thereabouts," they were unable to inspect the middle region of its track, where the most complete portions of it are to be found. They saw much, however, to reward them for their toils and brought away the altars which are now deposited at the foot of the staircase of Trinity College Library.

Before examining the inscriptions in detail, we may attend

¹ Communicated to the Section of Antiquities at the Cambridge Meeting, July, 1854.

to some general facts which these altars press upon our notice.

The circumstance that these stones sculptured by Roman hands were brought from the most northerly part of England is impressive evidence of the extent of the Roman dominion. Who can look at them without being reminded of the words by which on one occasion the Romans are described in Holy Writ, "a nation from far, from the ends of the earth."

Some of the altars were found at Bremenium, the modern High Rochester, which is upwards of twenty miles north of the Wall, and some are from Habitancum, the modern Risingham, about twelve miles to the north of the Wall. Both these places are on the Watling Street. Here we have convincing evidence that the Romans when they drew their line of wall from the Tyne to the Solway, had no intention of relinquishing their hold of the country north of the barrier.

The character of the carving and letters on some of the altars shows they belong to the best periods of the empire ; others exhibit signs of the lowest age. In this we have proof of the enduring character of the Roman rule. In taking possession of the bleak and inhospitable solitudes of northern Northumberland, the Romans contemplated no ephemeral occupation, but one of the most lasting nature. We have many proofs that these northern stations were not evacuated until the final abandonment of Britain.

The altars in the vestibule of Trinity College Library have not much in their appearance that is attractive. They seldom arrest the step of a student ascending the staircase. Even this fact is instructive. The Romans in the north of England did not find themselves in circumstances calculated to foster the fine arts. They were engaged in war ; they had a bold and vigilant enemy to deal with ; all their circumspection and all their energy were required to strengthen their position and to preserve themselves from destruction. Articles of taste and luxury, such as are found in Roman villas in the south of England, are rarely met with in the camps of the north. The rude character of some of the altars in question is in keeping with this observation.

Another fact will strike the student, when giving these altars even a cursory examination. Two or three of them are reddened by fire. This is a circumstance of common occurrence. You can scarcely walk over the site of a sta-

tion without noticing fragments of stone artificially reddened. A careful examination of the stations proves that on two occasions, at least, they have been involved in ruin. The first occurred, probably, in the reign of Commodus, the last on the final withdrawal of the Romans. The Caledonians, on making a successful onslaught on the Roman lines, burnt whatever was combustible about the stations. To this cause the reddening of the altars is no doubt owing.

In the collection in Trinity College there are some mere fragments of altars. It is by no means unusual to find the sculptures in a Roman station broken in pieces. The exception is to find one entire. The injury is usually of such a nature as to prove that it was the result of design and of the application of considerable force. It may be, that the Romans and their allies on being converted to Christianity, destroyed their altars and their idols in testimony of their change of belief, but it is more likely that the work of demolition was effected by the Caledonians after the stations were abandoned by the Romans. These northern tribes seem to have taken a special delight in destroying everything that bore traces of Roman handiwork.

We may now examine the altars in detail, beginning with one which was taken from Bremenium, the most northerly station in England.

This is described by Camden at page 661 of the last original edition of the "Britannia." He thus interprets it—"Duplares Numeri exploratorum Bremenii Aram instituerunt Numini ejus (Caio) Cæpione Charitino Tribuno votum solverunt libentes merito."—The exploratory troops of Bremenium (receiving double rations) erected this altar to its divinity, Caius Cæpio Charitinus being tribune; freely and duly have they discharged a vow. Horsley (xv. Northumberland) in commenting upon what he justly calls "that remarkable altar, with a curious inscription upon it, published by Mr. Camden," says, "The reading I have given of the body of the inscription is the same as his, which I take to be right ;



but nobody (that I know of) has given a satisfactory explanation of the D R S at the top. I think it plain that they are to be read *Deæ Romæ Sacrum*. That they made a goddess of Rome, and erected altars and temples to her, needs no proof to those who have any acquaintance with medals and other Roman antiquities."

Hodgson gives a different reading of the three initials, rendering them *De reditu suo*, and translating the whole inscription thus—"Caius Cæpio Charitinus being tribune, the duplares of the picket-guard stationed at Bremenium, freely and duly performing a vow on account of his safe return, set up this altar to his guardian god."—Hist. North. Part II., vol. i., p. 139.

No one acquainted with the wild region to the north of Bremenium can fail to recognise a sort of fitness in Hodgson's rendering. Charitinus and his troops might well congratulate themselves on their safe return from an exploratory expedition—the bogs, the forests passed, the wily enemy escaped. At the same time, Horsley's reading is less forced than Hodgson's. It is, moreover, usual to commence a dedication with the name of the god to whom the altar was erected.

That Rome was worshipped as a goddess there can be no doubt; and that she was held in very high estimation is apparent from the lines of Martial—

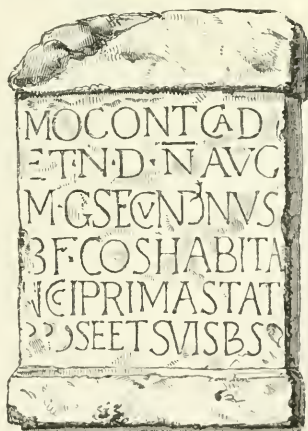
"Terrarum dea gentiumque Roma,
Cui par est nihil, et nihil secundum."—EPIG. XII, viii.

Words more lofty could not be applied to Jupiter himself. As the father of the gods is usually invoked on altars by the initial letters, I.O.M., there is no impropriety in this goddess being indicated in a similar manner by the letters, D.R.S.

The chief value, however, of the altar arises from the mention of Bremenium upon it. On the third line, the letters BREMEN. occur, and a stop is placed after them to indicate a contracted word. The first *Iter* in the Itinerary of Antoninus, is entitled, "A route from the limit, that is from the Wall, to Prætorium, 156 miles;" and the first place mentioned in it is Bremenium. Camden at once conjectured that the contracted word on this altar was Bremenii, and conceived that it furnished a strong probability that High Rochester was the starting point of the *Iter*.

The probability of the correctness of Camden's conclusion was increased by the discovery of another altar in the same station, two years ago, in the course of the excavations carried on there by direction of the Duke of Northumberland, on which the formula occurs, N. EXPLORATOR. BREM., *Numerus exploratorum Bremenii*.

The inscribed stones from Risingham next claim our attention. Amongst them is one which is remarkable, as giving the name of a local deity worshipped by the Romans, and fixing, with much probability, the ancient name of the station. Horsley, speaking of it, says, "I was pleased to see the whole inscription still so legible, and particularly the word *Habitanci* plain and distinct, though it is now above a hundred and twenty years since this and another altar, mentioned by Camden, were taken out of the river Rede, which runs near this station." Now that we have another period of above a hundred and twenty years to add to Horsley's, our satisfaction is proportionately increased in finding it in so satisfactory a state as it is. All authorities agree in reading the altar, "Deo Mogonti Cadenorum et numini Domini Nostri Augusti, Marcus Gaius Secundinus, beneficiarius consulis, Habitanci, prima statione, pro se et suis posuit."—To Mogon of the Cadeni and the deity of our lord Augustus, Marcus Gaius Secundinus a consular beneficiary at Habitancum, the first station (from the Wall), erected (this altar) for himself and his friends.



The god Mogon is no doubt the local deity of the Cadeni, who seem to have been a tribe located in the territory of the Vangiones. Mogontiacum, the modern Mayence, was the capital of the province of the Vangiones, and always contained a strong Roman garrison. There is something interesting in noticing the yearnings of soul in these Cadeni, banished to Risingham, after the gods of their native land.

Camden mentions a similar altar belonging to the same place, also erected by the Cadeni, bearing the inscription—

DEO MOUNO CAD[ENORUM]. For a number of years this altar was missing, having been used in the erection of a cow-shed ; this structure being now pulled down, it lies in the middle of the station, but the inscription is barely legible.

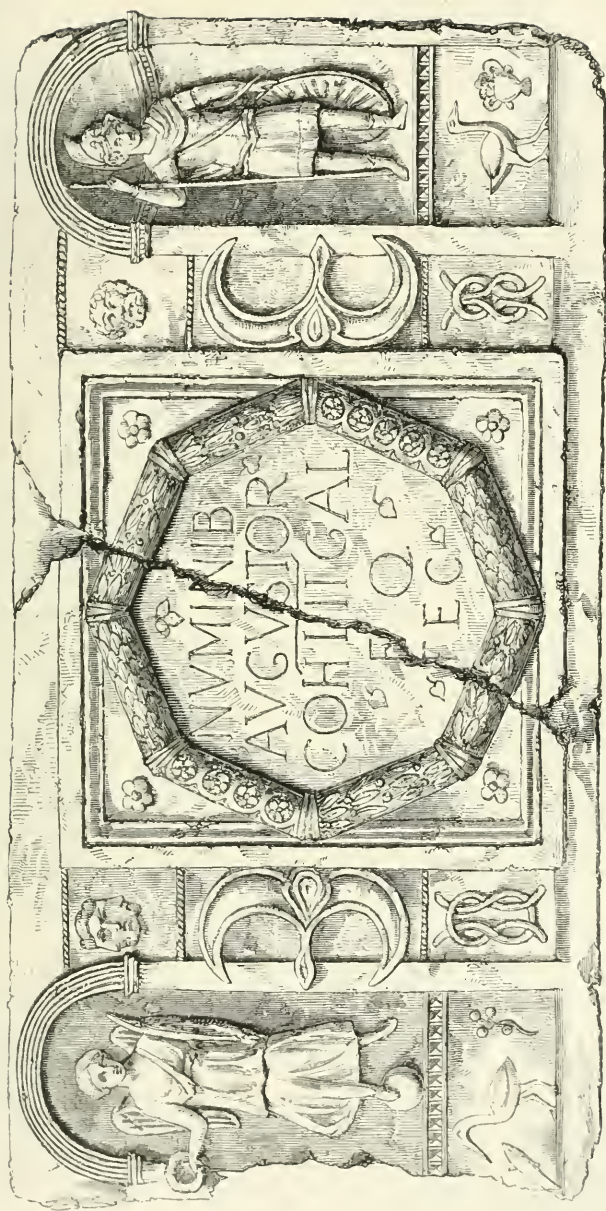
The chief value of the altar arises from the mention of HABITANCUM. This, in the absence of any evidence of a conflicting character, warrants us in supposing that Habitancum was the Roman name of the station.

We next direct our attention to a slab derived from the same station, which is of a more ornate character than any other found in the region of the Roman Wall. It has been repeatedly engraved, but never so correctly as to supersede another attempt, which is here presented.

The slab consists of three compartments. The centre contains the inscription surrounded by a very elegant octagonal border. The inscription is, "NUMINIBUS AUGUSTORUM COHORS QUARTA GALLORUM EQUITATA FECIT."—To the deities of the emperors the fourth cavalry cohort of the Gauls erected this.

That the emperors were worshipped as gods admits of abundant proof, and that the more worthless an emperor was, the more slavishly he was adored is quite natural. The emperors here referred to are probably the two sons of Severus. Several inscriptions mentioning Caracalla and Geta have been recently discovered at this station. Among them is a slab found among the ruins of the south gateway, and now preserved in the museum at Newcastle ; it bears a strong resemblance to that which we are discussing. Upon it the name of Caracalla is given with all the usual epithets. The name of his brother has also been there, but is erased. This is uniformly the case with reference to the name of this emperor in Northumberland. It is interesting to notice the same thing in the arch of Severus at Rome. We here get a striking proof of the unity of the empire even in the time of Caracalla. An order of a comparatively trifling character issued in Rome was quickly obeyed in the remotest region of the earth.

The troops by whom this slab was raised were the fourth cohort of the Gallic cavalry. The *Notitia* places the *fourth cohort of the Gauls* in the station of Vindobala, the modern Chesterholm, where several inscriptions by this body have been found. The Vindobala cohort was a troop of foot, the



Sculptured Tablet found at Risingham, Northumberland.

PRESERVED AT THE LIBRARY, TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

cohort mentioned upon our slab was a mounted one. They are no doubt different bodies.

The principal portions of the side compartments of the Risingham slab are occupied with figures of Victory and Mars. Both appear as they are usually represented. Victory has wings, a laurel crown is in her right hand, a palm-branch in her left ; a globe placed beneath her feet indicates Rome's claims to universal empire. Mars appears fully armed ; his uplifted right hand grasps a spear, his left rests upon his shield ; his whole posture is a personification of the motto—

“ Ready, aye, ready for the field.”

Between the central compartment and these figures an ornament which is of frequent occurrence on Roman shields is introduced. It is probably the conventional form of a shield. It resembles the shield which is sometimes introduced into trophies, and is probably an ornamental adaptation of the shield of the earliest period of the Roman polity. Above the shield, on each side, are human heads ; that on the left side is triple-faced, it may be intended for Janus, the guardian deity of gates ; that on the right may be intended for Severus.

Beneath the shields are cords formed into a knot. Beneath the figure of Victory is a bird apparently a stork about to seize a fish ; near it is a small twig, apparently bearing a few berries of some description.

On the other side, below the figure of Mars is a bird, apparently a goose ; before it is set a small vase which seems to contain some fruit.

How far these minor objects are emblematic of the faith or the philosophy of the cohort of the Gauls, or how far they are the mere offspring of the taste of the sculptor, is not easy to decide. If the bird under Mars had been a cock, as has generally been stated, the appropriateness of its introduction would have been plain. We know that Rome was once saved *from* the Gauls by the cackling of geese. If the allusion is to this circumstance, it shows how entirely the Romans had succeeded in destroying the nationality of their conquered provinces, and in infusing the national spirit into the whole.

Another slab which was found in the same station, and was probably attached to a temple or other building, bears the inscription, COH[ORS] PRIMA VANG[IONUM] FECIT CURANTE JUL[IO] PAULLO TRIBUNO.—The first cohort of the Vangiones

erected this under the command of Julius Paullus, the tribune.

The Vangiones, as has already been said, were a people of Belgic Gaul. As several inscribed stones found at Habintancum mention the Vangiones, it has been concluded that this station was chiefly garrisoned by them, though they are not named in the *Notitia Imperii*.

Below these two slabs in the wall of the lobby of Trinity Library is a large altar. It is reddened by fire, and is deeply scarred by the bad usage it has received; notwithstanding this its aspect gladdened the heart of Horsley. "This is a very stately altar," he says, "erected to the invincible Hercules. It yet remains at Conington very entire, and is, I think, one of the largest altars that I have seen, that are so beautiful." It reads "DEO INVICTO HERCULI SACR[UM] L[UCIUS] ÆMIL[IANUS] SALVANUS TRIB[UNUS] COH[ORTIS] PRIMÆ VANGI[ONUM] V[OTUM] S[OLVENS] L[IBENS] M[ERITO]. Sacred to the unconquerable god Hercules. Lucius Æmilianus Salvanus, tribune of the first cohort of the Vangiones, (erected this) willingly and deservedly, in discharge of a vow.



Personal prowess being a qualification of considerable importance to a soldier, Hercules was popular in the Roman army, and we find several altars dedicated to him.

The formula *vslm*, at the close of an inscription, is, with occasional variations, of common occurrence upon Roman altars. Whilst we deplore the folly of the idolatry of the Romans, we cannot but admire their readiness in acknowledging the obligations under which they supposed themselves to be laid by their gods.

In the mention of the Vangiones on this altar, as well as on the slab already noticed, we have an illustration of the Roman policy of prosecuting their conquests by means of tribes already subjugated. The Vangiones were stationed at Risingham, the Varduli and Lingones at High Rochester, and, along the line of the Wall, were troops of Spaniards,



Altar dedicated to Hercules. Found at Risingham.

PRESERVED AT THE LIBRARY, TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

Moors, Germans and others. The Britons themselves were drafted off in large numbers to the other ends of the earth, or perhaps to keep in order the very tribes and nations who were doing this service for their own countrymen. By this means a single legion of Roman troops were sufficient to hold in check the whole of North Britain. This, which was the sixth legion, was stationed at York, whence they could, from the nature of the country, on any alarm, expand themselves like a fan over the region to the north, or concentrate themselves on any position of the mural barrier which was exposed to danger.

One other inscription only from this station shall detain us ; it is on a monumental slab. It reads—D[IIIS] M[ANIBUS] BLESCIVS DIOVICVS FILIÆ SUE VIXIT ANNUM UNUM ET DIE[S] VIGINTI UNUM.—Blescivus Diovicus erects this to the divine manes of his daughter ; she lived one year and twenty-one days.

The bust in the triangular head of the stone is probably meant as a likeness of the deceased. The rude character of the carving, the peculiar shape of the letters, and the mode of spelling *vixit*, prove the inscription to be of late date.

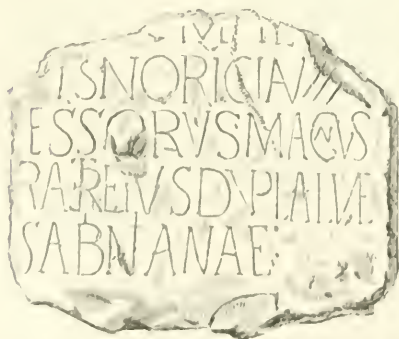
There is something touching in all these Roman tombstones. The rudest and most meagre of them shadow forth the kindest affections of human nature. Blescivus Diovicus, a wanderer, probably, from the banks of the Rhine, and inured to all the hardships and privations of war, had a heart that could bleed for his little daughter. In committing her dust to the urn, he was unwilling that the memory of her brief existence should perish hastily, and accordingly he carved, roughly enough, but probably according to his ability, the lines we have been examining. It is a pity he has not inserted the cognomen of the young lady, for, in that case, a



splendid immortality would have been hers. The name of the daughter of Blescius Diovicus would have been a household word with the learned sons of Trinity College, Cambridge.

We now turn from the stations north of the Wall to those of the Wall itself.

The *Notitia Imperii* gives the stations along the line of the Roman Wall, and mentions the troops and the prefects which were stationed in each. At Condereum, the fourth station on the line, reckoning from the eastern extremity, it places the prefect of the first Ala of the Astures. At Benwell several slabs and altars have been found inscribed by this body of soldiers. Proceeding westwards, we meet with a Roman station at Rutchester. The *Notitia* gives us as the camp next in order to Condereum, Vindolana, where the first cohort of the Frixagi were stationed; here, unhappily, no stone has been found mentioning this cohort or any other. Going still further westward we meet with a station near Halton Castle. Next in order to Vindolana the *Notitia* gives us the camp of Hunnum with the Savinian ala for its garrison. The only stone naming this troop found at Halton or elsewhere in England is the broken fragment preserved at Cambridge and here represented. Fragmentary as it is, it is sufficient to prove Halton Chesters to be the Hunnum of the *Notitia*, especially as there is abundant evidence for establishing the station next in order to be the Cilurnum of the *Notitia*. This inscription is apparently a monumental

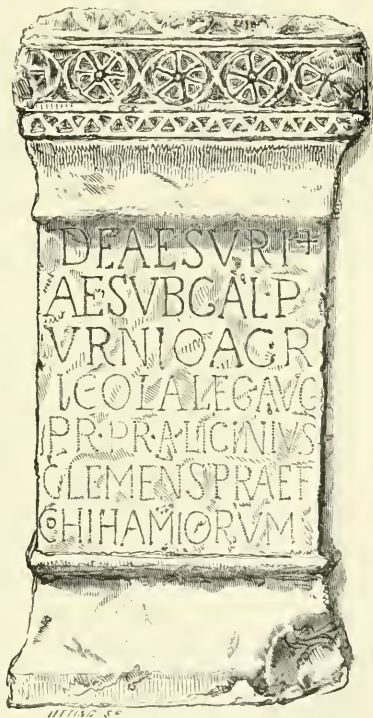


one erected by Messorius Magnus to the manes of his brother. The reference to the Ala Sabiniana is however distinct, and is sufficient to establish for this battered and ill-used stone an historic value. Several ligatures or tied letters will be noticed in it. For example, the three letters TER in *Frater* are all combined in one

form. A peculiarity in the writing of the word ALAE is worthy of notice. The second A which is adjoined to the letter E is represented upside down. In Saxon inscriptions

Roman letters are not unfrequently inverted ; this does not often occur in those carved by Latin hands.

At Carvoran the Roman Magna, the eleventh station on the Wall, the Syrian goddess seems to have been extensively worshipped. An altar derived from this quarter is preserved in the collection at Trinity College. The upper portion of it is elaborately carved, and the first and second lines of the inscription, and part of that of the third are complete ; but all the subsequent lines, amounting to four, have been lost through the exfoliation of the stone. Fortunately Camden had copied the inscription before this destructive process had taken place, and the figure here given has the missing lines supplied chiefly from his copy. I have ventured to render the last line more complete than he has done, for the discovery of several other inscriptions at this place of late renders it quite certain that the first cohort of the Hamii, not the fourth cohort of the Gauls (as Horsley supposed), were the dedicators of the altar. The inscription reads *Deæ Suriae sub Calpurnio Agricola legato augustali pro-præ-tore Aulus Licinius Clemens præfectus cohortis primæ Hamiorum*. To the Syrian goddess Aulus Licinius Clemens prefect of the first cohort of the Hamii under Calpurnius Agricola, Augustan legate and pro-præ-tor. The Hamii were natives of Syria. The Syrians were much addicted to the worship of Cybele. There is at present lying in the garden at Carvoran a fragment of a stone which bears all the appearance of having formed part of an altar similar to this one ; at all events the name of Calpurnius Agricola is distinct.



To one other altar only will we direct attention. Though

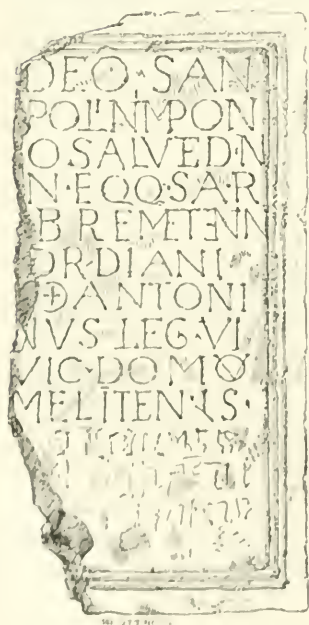
not from the region of the Wall it still belongs to the north of England. It is without doubt the most elaborately carved altar which the Romans resident in Britain have left us. It is now preserved in the quadrangle of St. John's College. Camden mentions it, and tells us it was found in the Roman station of Ribchester. The inscription, which he informs us "was copied for him," he gives as follows:—

SEO ESAM
ROLNASON
OSALVEDN
AL. Q. Q. SAR
BREVENM
BEDIANIS
ANTON I
VS MEC. VI.
IC DOMV
ELITER

Never, perhaps, was so unmeaning a concatenation of letters submitted to the gaze of a bewildered antiquary. Camden could make nothing of the inscription, but suggests somewhat waggishly that it contained little more than the *British* names of places adjoining. Horsley grappled with Camden's corrupted copy, and elicited one portion of truth. He says, "I believe the fourth line may be *Ale equitum Sarma* [tarum]."

The altar seems soon after its discovery to have been used as a common building-stone in the erection of Salisbury Hall. In 1815 it was disinterred, and fell into the hands of Dr. Whitaker, who bequeathed it to St. John's College. Dr. Whitaker (*History of Richmondshire*, vol.

ii. p. 461) thus expands the inscription: *Deo sancto Apollini Apono ob salutem Domini nostri ala equitum Sarmatarum*



Breneten. sub Dianio Antonino centurione legionis sextæ victricis. The correctness of this reading, in the main, cannot be disputed, but one or two emendations may be suggested. Instead of Apono, which Dr. Whitaker conceives to be an epithet of Apollo, Mapono is probably the true reading. We nowhere else meet with Aponus (indolent) as an epithet of this deity. At Plumpton, in Cumberland, an altar has been found which is inscribed¹—

DEO
MAPONO
ET N.AVG

To Mr. Roach Smith I am indebted for the reading now suggested, as well as for the idea that Maponus may be the British name of Apollo, as Belatucader is of Mars. It is nothing uncommon to address a god both by his classical and local name. The first letter in the fourth line appears to be N (*numerus*) rather than A (*ala*); both designations as applied to a troop of cavalry are common. The last letter on the ninth line is worthy of notice. The sculptor seems in the first instance to have made the word *domu* and then to have altered it to the usual form of *domo*.

The chief value of the inscription depends upon the fifth line. Mr. Hodgson Hinde, in a paper read before the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and published in their Transactions,² conjectured (without having seen the altar) that Dr. Whitaker's reading of Breneten, should be Bremeten. Such, as is shown in the woodcut, appears to be the fact. He further argues that the station at which the Sarmatian cavalry (Ribchester) were located, was the Bremeten racum of the Notitia. He does so upon the same principle that High Rochester is conceded to be Bremenium, and Risingham Habitancum.

The emperor, for whose welfare this altar was erected, does not appear, but judging from the excellence of the design of the altar and from the clearness of its lettering, he must have been one of the earlier series.

Besides the inscription, the altar is sculptured on two of its sides. The subject of one of these carvings is the youthful Apollo resting upon his lyre. The figure, notwithstanding the hard usage it has met with in the course of centuries,

exhibits considerable grace. Two females, the one fully draped, the other only partially so, are shown on the other side of the altar. They hold some object between them which is so much injured as to be undistinguishable ; it may have been a basket of fruit or an offering of flowers. Dr. Whitaker is surely wrong in describing these figures as two priests holding in their hands the head of a victim.



Such are some of the objects of antiquity connected with the domination of Rome in the north of England, that are at present to be met with within the precincts of the University of Cambridge. However rude the carving of some of them, they will ever be interesting to Englishmen, as indicating the progress of their forefathers from a state of barbarism into one of high civilisation.

[The Central Committee of the Institute have the gratification to acknowledge the kind assistance of the author of this valuable memoir, in defraying a large portion of the cost of the accompanying illustrations, prepared under his directions by Mr. Utting.]

THE MONASTERIES OF SHROPSHIRE: THEIR ORIGIN AND FOUNDERS.—LILLESHELL ABBEY.¹

BY THE REV. ROBERT W. EYTON, M.A.

THERE are few subjects of that class and period, whereunto the foundation of Lilleshall Abbey belongs, which can be more exactly described both as regards dates and circumstances. Much of this has been ably done already,² and the object of the present narrative is mainly to supply a few additions to, and to suggest some trifling corrections in, former accounts.

Richard de Belmeis, first Bishop of that name, who held the See of London, died January 16, 1127. He had been for a great portion of his life the representative or Viceroy of Henry I. in Shropshire. He died seized of a temporal estate in that county, which included the manor of Tong, also of several churches, and of the deanery or chief prebendal interest in the church of St. Alkmund, Shrewsbury. The last he held immediately of the king.

At his death he left two nephews, sons of his brother Walter. The elder of these, Philip, was his temporal heir, and so became at once lord of Tong. The younger, Richard, was not yet of age, but was already destined for the Church.

In the years 1138 and 1139, or about that time, Philip de Belmeis seems to have been interested in the prosperity of Buildwas Abbey, a Savigniac house recently founded in Shropshire, by Roger de Clinton, Bishop of Chester. The manner in which he encouraged that establishment, and his own personal admission into the fraternity of Savigny preclude all idea of his having a contemporary admiration for any other religious order.

Before many years had passed—specifically before the year 1145, Philip de Belmeis was of another mind. The

¹ Communicated to the Historical Section, at the Meeting of the Institute in Shrewsbury.

² History of Shrewsbury (Owen and Blakeway), ii. 265, n.

introduction of regular, as distinct from secular canons, into England, belongs to no earlier period than the reign of Henry I., and according to one account, the elder Richard de Belmeis had been instrumental, about A.D. 1108, to their first settlement in this country.³ During the next thirty years, many colleges of secular canons were changed into regulars, and many houses of the latter class were newly founded.

In the Lateran Council of 1139, all regular canons throughout the dominions of St. Peter were subjected to the rule of St. Augustine; but there was a sect of this order which had long previously professed an improvement on its fundamental ordinances, and which from its first house having been dedicated to St. Nicholas of Arras, and situated near that city, was called Arroasian. A number of these latter canons are said to have been introduced into England in 1140, under the auspices of Alexander the Magnificent, Bishop of Lincoln. They were placed at Dorchester in Oxfordshire, once the episcopal seat of Alexander's predecessors, and where probably a college of secular canons made way for these Arroasians.

Within five, probably within three, years of this date, the Dorchester canons were ready to increase their influence by emigration. Some of them found their way into Shropshire, where Philip de Belmeis was their first patron. By a charter, addressed to Roger, Bishop of Chester, he gave them a tract of land in his manor of Tong, now known as the Lizard Grange, and other advantages, which, he it observed, must have somewhat qualified the value of his previous favours to Buildwas. Verbally, his charter conveys "land to found a Church in honour of St. Mary (given) to Canons of the Order of Arroasia, who had come from the Church of St. Peter at Dorchester, and are serving God and St. Mary there" (that is, in the locality now given to them), "regularly," (that is, according to the Rule of Regular Canons).

This humble introduction under the patronage of a Shropshire knight, was a prelude to greater fortunes; but before I pass to the next event which befel these Arroasian canons, I must resume my account of Richard, younger nephew of Richard de Belmeis, Bishop of London. When

³ Viz. at Christ Church, within Aldgate, London.

the latter had been dead about seven months, that is, in August, 1127,⁴ King Henry I. is known to have been waiting on the coast of Hampshire for a favourable opportunity of crossing the Channel. Doubtless to the same period belongs a charter dated at Portsmouth, whereby the king grants to Richard de Belmeis, nephew of the deceased Bishop, all the "Churches, Lands, and things" which having in the first instance been held by Godebald and Robert his son, had since been held by the Bishop, of the King.

There is every presumption that we rightly indicate the gift thus conveyed, if we say that it consisted of the prebendal estates of Lilleshall, Atcham, Uckington, and Preston Gobalds, with the Churches thereon, and that the whole constituted a preponderating interest in the Collegiate Church of St. Alkmund, Shrewsbury.

Richard de Belmeis, whom we will only call Chief Prebendary of St. Alkmunds, was at this time hardly of age. He was nevertheless a dignitary of St. Paul's, London, and had actually been appointed Archdeacon of Middlesex by his uncle several years before. His extreme youth, however, had induced an arrangement whereby one Hugh, a Chaplain, had custody of the archdeaconry, to hold as it were *in commendam*, till Belmeis should attain a fitting age. This period arrived during the episcopacy of Gilbert the Universal (January, 1128, August, 1134); but the archdeacon in possession forgot or evaded his oath; and his refusal to resign his trust was countenanced by Bishop Gilbert. The death of the latter prelate was followed by a long vacancy in the See of London. In 1138, Richard de Belmeis went to Rome as a representative of the Chapter of St. Paul's in its opposition to the election of Anselm to that bishopric. The appeal succeeded, and Belmeis then brought forward his own personal grievance in regard to the archdeaconry of Middlesex. This matter the Pope (Innocent II.) referred back to the decision of two English bishops (Hereford and Lincoln), who before the end of the year gave sentence in favour of Belmeis. In apparent connexion with his induction to this office, Belmeis was ordained deacon in December, 1138, by Henry, Bishop of Winchester, at com-

⁴ Monasticon, vi. 262, Num. 11. Mr. Blakeway (Hist. Shrewsbury, II. 264, note 3) dates this charter in August, 1128,

but Simeon of Durham's Chronology of the period (which Mr. B. followed) is erroneous by a year.

mand of the papal legate, Alberic, who was then visiting England.

In July 1141, for that undoubtedly is the date of the document referred to, I find Archdeacon Richard de Belmeis in the court of the empress at Oxford, and attesting her charter to the Shropshire Abbey of Haughmond.⁵ It was the era of her pride and triumph, for Stephen was then her prisoner. Among her other attendants, were David, King of Scotland, Robert de Sigillo, recently appointed to the long vacant see of London, Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, Reginald, earl of Cornwall, William and Walter Fitz-Alan, and Alan de Dunstanville,—the four last all associated with Shropshire history.

The release of Stephen towards the close of this same year, again set the kingdom in a blaze. Political parties were once more confounded, and many men re-adjusted their allegiance as interest or passion might direct. Amidst all this turmoil and distrust, it is marvellous to observe the impulse which was given to religious institutions. Stephen and the Empress vied in their patronage of the Church, not befriending different orders in opposition to each other, but more commonly lavishing their jealous favours on the same.⁶ Meantime, there were men whose conduct, favourably interpreted, would indicate that they belonged to no political party, and of whom the worst that can be said is, that they adhered to each party in turn, according as it might suit their designs; designs, I mean, not of rapine or bloodshed, but of peace and benevolence. These men pursued their ends without molestation, nay, often with double encouragement.

Among them was Richard, Archdeacon of Middlesex, who, whether at the suggestion of his brother Philip, or in sympathy with the bishop of Lincoln, selected the Arroasian order for his munificent favour. His first step, taken, I doubt not, in 1144, was to transfer them from the Lizard to Donington Wood, a part of his prebendal estate of Lilleshall, not six miles distant from their first abode. This he did, doubtless, under a full assurance of that consent, temporal as well as ecclesiastical, which followed his act.

⁵ Harleian MSS., 2188, fo. 123.

⁶ The eleemosynary charters of Stephen and the Empress are usually found in pairs. Often, too, *mutatis mutandis*, they

are verbal copies of each other. The policy of the rivals in this respect being once made known, of course the chartered bodies availed themselves largely of it.

We know that in the spring of 1145, Stephen was occupied in the eastern counties, specifically in Norfolk and Suffolk ; we know that at the same time, Imarus, Bishop of Tusculum, was in England as legate of Pope Lucius II., who died during his deputy's embassy, viz. on Feb. 26, 1145.

This, then, is the proximate date of a charter⁷ whereby king Stephen, then at Bury St. Edmunds, "at the prayer of Archdeacon Richard, grants and concedes to the Canons Regular, of Duninton, the prebend which the said Richard had in the church of St. Alchmund at Salopesbery, and all his demesne and things, and moreover, all the other prebends of the aforesaid church, whenever they should fall vacant."⁸ The first witness of this charter was Imarus, Bishop of Tusculum, legate, the second Robert (de Betun), Bishop of Hereford.

It is obvious to me that the consent of the diocesan Bishop (Roger de Clinton) to this enormous transfer of Church estates was as yet wanting, and I know not that it will be extravagant to associate his hesitation with a very natural feeling of jealousy in behalf of his own foundation of Buildwas, which had already been brought into a kind of rivalry by Philip de Belmeis' adoption of the Arroasian canons in preference to the Savigniac monks. Still suggesting, rather than asserting, I venture to point out how Eugenius III. succeeded to the papal chair in March 1145 ; how Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, the great patron of the Arroasians, was in especial favour with that pontiff ; how he visited him at Rome in 1145-6, and again at Auxerre in 1147 ; and how, within those intervals, Roger Bishop of Chester had the Pope's order to confirm Richard de Belmeis' endowment of the Donington canons.—

We know the latter fact, not from any existing charter of Bishop Clinton, but from a succeeding and further confirmatory charter of Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, which is preserved and records the circumstance.⁹

Theobald's charter, even if written in his exile, was appa-

⁷ Lilleshall Chartulary, in possession of the Duke of Sutherland, p. 48.

⁸ Or "be surrendered" by the existing prebendaries ; for I take it that the reading of the original, was "*quando dilabantur.*" Perhaps, however, (whenever they should lapse) was the expression used.

⁹ The original deed, with a perfect seal of the Archbishop, is among the Duke of Sutherland's Muniments at Trentham. A copy thereof (given *Monasticon*, vi., 263, Num. VII.) is from fo. 46 of the Lilleshall Chartulary.

rently written before he knew of the death of Roger de Clinton, and therefore in or before 1148. It indicates one if not two changes which had taken place since Stephen's confirmation. It speaks of Belmeis' gift as intended for the building of an abbey in the *Wood of Lilleshull*. Thither, therefore, had the canons at length removed, viz. to a site three miles distant from Donington Wood. There they remained. Lilleshall Abbey was therefore commenced between the years 1144 and 1148. Archbishop Theobald also calls Richard de Belmeis, *Dean of St. Alkmunds*, and describes his particular *prebend* to be that of *Lilleshull and Hettingham* (Atcham).

If Belmeis had only recently become Dean of St. Alkmunds, and probably such was the case,¹ it was obviously that he might have every facility for converting the secular into the regular establishment, a business which we know to have been substantively and eventually completed. Thus, whether in Belmeis' time, or later, all the prebendal estates of St. Alkmund's became the property of the canons of Lilleshall.

The next charter which I should notice, is the confirmation of the empress Matilda to Lilleshall Abbey.² This interesting document seems to me to have passed very soon after she quitted England, viz. in 1148, but I must speak of it with caution, as its nearly obliterated condition makes some of the few words which I fancy myself to have deciphered very problematical.—

Matilda, the empress daughter of king Henry, addresses William Fitz-Alan and Walter (perhaps his brother) and all her faithful in Shropshire with greeting. She receives William, Abbot of Lylleshull and the canons, who are there serving God for the souls of her father Henry and her mother Matilda, and for the welfare of herself and hers, under her tutelage and protection. Wherefore, her will and mandate was, that the aforesaid William and his canons should hold all their things freely and quietly: viz. the Church of St. Alemund, of Salop, with its appurtenances and franchises as already confirmed to them by episcopal authority. The witnesses seem to be, H. (Hugh) Archbishop of Rouen; Joceline, Bishop of Sarum; Philip, Bishop of Baieux;

¹ The name of the Dean of St. Alkmund's, at the close of Henry I.'s reign, and probably at the commencement of

Stephen's, was Adam. *Monasticon*, vol. vii. 750, No. xvi.

² Lilleshall Chartulary, p. 41.

Richard, her chancellor; Robert de Cury; William de Ansgervill. The deed (I think) is dated at Faleise.

We must now say a word as to the confirmation of Walter Durdent, Bishop of Coventry (consecrated 2 Oct. 1149), which seems to me to have passed soon after his succession, and before September, 1152,³ when Richard de Belmeis was elevated to the see of London. The latter person is mentioned in Durdent's charter only as Dean of St. Alkmund's. His conversion of the secular prebends is spoken of as a thing done. The building of the Abbey of St. Mary, in the wood at Lilleshall, has commenced. The previous confirmations of king Stephen, pope Eugenius, archbishop Theobald, and bishop Clinton, are all alluded to.⁴

Next follows the Charter of Henry duke of Normandy, sought and obtained by the prudent canons of Lilleshall while that prince was still an exile. It merely confirms the Church of St. Alkmund's with all the privileges which it enjoyed in time of Henry I. It is attested by Arnulf, bishop of Liseux, (Humphrey) de Bohun. Walcheline Maminot, William fitz Hamon, Warin fitz Gerald, Richard fitz Haldebrond, and Manasser Biset. It is dated at Argentan, in Normandy, and passed probably in 1151.⁵

The same prince's charter, after he ascended the throne, is a document of some historical interest. He confirms all things, quoting the previous charter and grant of his "Lady the Empress," a mode of designating his mother, which I have not elsewhere met with. The deed is attested by R. (Robert)⁶ Bishop of Lincoln, R. (Richard) Bishop of London, Thomas the Chancellor, Manasser Biset Dapifer, Warin fitz Gerald Chamberlain, Robert de Dunstanville and Joceline de Baliol.⁷ It is also dated at Alrewas "in exercitu," a circumstance which, with the witnesses' names, proves the

³ There is a doubt about this. One of the witnesses is Geoffry Abbot, of Combermere, and William, *first* Abbot of Combermere, is said to have been living in 1153, viz, when "Pelton Abbey was founded." There is, however, a strong presumption that the foundation of Pelton was earlier than 1153. If so, the objection to dating Walter Durdent's confirmation earlier than 1153, is invalid.

⁴ Monasticon, vi. 263, No. iv.

⁵ The date is assigned on these grounds. Henry became Duke of Normandy early in 1151, by cession of his father Geoffrey.

In the autumn of that year he became also Earl of Anjou by his said father's death; and in 1152 he acquired further titles by his marriage with Eleanor of Poitou. In the deed before us, he simply styles himself Duke of Normandy, but he is known to have used his other titles before his accession to the throne of England. The presumption therefore is that he used them as they accrued. (Vide Lilleshall Chartulary, p. 44.)

⁶ The name *Richard* has been used here by error of the transcriber.

⁷ Lilleshall Chartulary, p. 44.

deed to have passed in the first year of Henry's reign (1155) ; but whether the king took Alrewas (Staffordshire) in his line of march when going to or returning from York in February, or when going to or returning from Shropshire in July, seems uncertain.⁸

A contemporary precept of the same king gives the abbot and canons of Lilleshall a new privilege, viz., an exemption from "toll and passage," under a penalty of 10*l.* recoverable from any one who should charge them with such dues.

It would be beside my present purpose to attempt even a summary of the various grants and privileges which were bestowed on Lilleshall Abbey within the first century after its foundation. Neither will I enumerate the bulls of popes, or the charters of kings, archbishops, and bishops, which confirmed and recorded these successive benefactions.

As, however, I profess to give full particulars of the *Foundation* of Lilleshall, it seems fitting to relate whatever more is known of its founder,⁹ Richard de Belmeis.

Notwithstanding all his ecclesiastical dignities, he was not ordained priest till September 20, 1152, when his previous election to the See of London rendered that preliminary to his consecration imperative. His consecration followed at Canterbury, on Sunday, September 28, 1152, Archbishop Theobald officiating, and nearly every English Bishop attending.—

Henry of Winchester, the only notable absentee, sent a message to the synod excusing his own non-attendance, but expressing in high terms his assent to Belmeis' promotion. Elegance of person, polished manners, industrious activity, and scientific accomplishment, are all attributed to the new bishop by his great panegyrist, who predicts that the tree now to be planted in God's temple will, with divine help, flourish and be fruitful. Such was the pious tone assumed by Henry of Blois, who, though not as yet sated with ambition and statecraft, gave after-evidence that he sometimes spoke both solemnly and sincerely.

Richard de Belmeis, Bishop of London, seems to have been a party to the conventions which, in 1153, gave peace to the

⁸ *Antiquities of Shropshire*, by the Rev. H. W. Eyton, vol. i, p. 249.

⁹ Perhaps the term co-founder would be more correct, with reference to the share

which Philip de Belmeis had in the matter. For an account of him, see *Antiquities of Shropshire*, vol. ii, pp. 201-6.

distracted nation by settling the succession on Henry Duke of Normandy.

On December 19, 1154, he attended the coronation of that prince at Westminster. I find him occasionally but not often at court in 1155 ; and Prince Henry, who was born at London on February 28, was baptised by Bishop Belmeis.

The next year the king was in Normandy, but a court held at Colchester May 24, 1157, was attended by Belmeis. Not again at any later period do I hear of him in public or in attendance on the king. He died on the fourth of May, 1162, after suffering for many years from some disorder which, as one of the chroniclers informs us, deprived him of speech.¹ His uncle, the former Bishop of London, was, as we know, attacked by paralysis many years before his death, and the nephew's malady was not improbably of a similar nature. His age at his death must have been considerably less than sixty.

No record remains of his having done anything for the fabric of the Church of St. Paul's, the Cathedral of his See. His whole cares of this kind were probably devoted to the completion of that Augustine Abbey of which we have been speaking. It was associated with the neighbouring heritage of his kinsmen and with the memories of his own early advancement :—it was situated also in the county which had nursed the greater genius and fortunes of his illustrious uncle.

¹ Joh. Hagustald, col. 278.

NOTICE OF A REMARKABLE SEPULCHRAL BRASS OF FLEMISH DESIGN, IN THE CHURCH OF WENSLEY, YORKSHIRE.

BY THE REV. JAMES RAINE, JUN., PRINCIPAL OF NEVILLE HALL,
NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.

IN the choir of the church of Wensley in the North Riding of the County of York there is a splendid brass, which has long attracted the admiration of archaeologists. It represents an ecclesiastic with a chalice and the host laid upon his breast. The priestly vestments are most beautifully executed, and the whole figure is so carefully designed and admirably wrought as to deserve a high place among our clerical brasses.¹ It is probably the production of some Flemish artist, and it has been supposed to commemorate a rector of the church during the XIVth century. The name of the ecclesiastic who is thus represented has been long forgotten, as the fillet of brass which ran round the edge of the stone, and which contained the inscription, has been removed or destroyed. At the head of the figure there has been let into the marble stone a small square tablet of brass, bearing the following inscription :—

“Oswaldus Dykes jaceo hic ; Rector hujus ecclesie xx annos, reddidi animam 5 Decemb. 1607.

“Non moriar sed vivam et narrabo opera Domini.”

This tablet detracts somewhat from the effect of the stately figure which lies beneath it, but we have to thank Oswald Dykes for the name of his predecessor, into whose resting-place he so unceremoniously intruded. In his will, dated on the seventh of November 1607, and proved at York on the 2nd of February following, he desires “to be buried in the quier of Wenslow, *under the stone where Sir Symond Wenslow was buried*, yf yt please God soe to provide the same, havinge this superscription, *Non moriar sed utinam*

¹ There is a large engraving of this brass, in Dr. Whitaker's History of Richmondshire, and a more accurate repre-

sentation in Waller's Sepulchral Brasses. It occurs also in Mr. Boutell's Monumental Brasses and Slabs, p. 20.

ut narrabo opera Domini." This inscription differs slightly from that which occurs upon the tablet. The clerk evidently made a mistake when he was transcribing the will. This document gives us the name of the rector whom the brass commemorates—Sir Simon de Wenslegh. Before however I turn to him, a few brief notices of Oswald Dykes may be appropriately introduced.

Oswald Dykes, Rector of Wensley, was, I believe, a younger son of Thomas Dykes, Esq., of the parish of Burgh-on-Sands, in Cumberland, by Anne, daughter of John Layton, Esq., of Dalemain. His will contains some interesting bequests, and I give some extracts from it.

"To the parishe of Plumland in Cumberland, where I was borne, 5*l.*, at the discretion of the parson and of William Orfeur, Esq., my cozen. To Sir John Dalston my weightiest ringe of gould, and to my Ladye his wife an unyon.² To every poore house in Laborn, Wenslowe and Preston, 12*d.* To my brother Robert Dykes my best satten doublet. I give my librarie of bookes unto my brother Edward Dykes parson of Distington. To my Ladie Bellingham a booke called Grenehams second tombe. My wife, Mrs. Emme Dykes, executrix. To my neece, Mr. Leonard Dyke's his wife, of Wardall, my bell salt gilted over with gold.³ To my countreman Edward Gibson a booke called Mallarette upon Sainte Mathewe. To my sonne Daniell Hodgson that is now at Stoad in Germany my goodly foale with the starne in the head. To Rachell Hodgson my virginalls." Dykes was presented to the rectory of Wensley by lord Scrope, June 5, 1587.

It was by no means unusual to appropriate earlier grave-stones and to disturb the remains which they covered. The great number that sought interment in the churches rendered this appropriation necessary. Altar tombs and stone coffins appear to have been used again without the slightest scruple, and in many cases we may still observe two or three inscrip-

² Probably a fine pearl, *unio*; the term is so used by Shakspeare, Hamlet, V., 2. See Nares. It has been suggested, however, that it may signify a betrothal ring, a *gimmel*; Fr. *alliance*, sometimes formed of a thread or wire of gold interlined with one of silver.

³ A double salt of remarkable form,

resembling a bell, and terminating in a perforated ball, was exhibited by the Rev. F. Raine, in the Museum of the Institute, at the York Meeting, 1846. (Museum Catalogue, York volume, p. 16.) A similar salt is described, Gent. Mag. vol. xxiii. N.S., p. 136.

tions of different dates upon the same stone. The incumbent might, of course, select the place for his own interment, and he occasionally made a curious selection. In 1585, Thomas Taylor, Rector of Langton upon Swaile, desired "to be buried in oonder an owld tombe or monyment within the chaunsell of Lanketon," bequeathing "to Thos. Rychmounde, or to eanye other in his absence for openynge and enclosynge of my tombe, of there owne proper costes and charges, xs." The tomb, here referred to, is probably that of an ecclesiastic in the north wall of the church, of which Dr. Whitaker gives an engraving. I may here mention the burial place of another Richmondshire, incumbent, as recorded in his parish register,

"Thomas Tothall, rector of Romalldkirke, departed this life the 26th of December, 1664, about half an houre past nine of the clock att night and was interred the 28 day of December, in the chancell under the marble stone which adjoines to the north side of Parson Livelie his tombe." This rector was the son of Christopher Tothall, notary public, who was buried in the same church, as he desired, "in linnen, without chiste or cophin," on the 31st of March, 1628, "sub marmore juxta marmor vel tumulum Domini Johannis Lewelyne defuncti." I now turn to Sir Simon de Wenslagh.

Sir Simon de Wenslagh was a man of eminence in character and position. He was probably a member of the ancient family of Wenslagh,⁴ which was of some influence and consideration in Yorkshire. The Wenslaghs were connected with the great Baronial House of Scrope, and it was probably to that illustrious family that the Rector of Wensley was indebted for his christian name, Simon. The first notice we have of Sir Simon de Wenslagh is in the year 1352. On the 14th of September in that year, Henry de Bellerby puts Simon de Wenslawe, clerk, together with John de Huthwate, clerk, and Philip de Fulford, chaplain, in trust for the whole of his manor of Walburn,⁵ This manor the trustees release to Bellerby and his wife fifteen days afterwards. Soon after this, Sir Simon was preferred by Richard Lord Scrope of

⁴ The family of Wenslagh bore for their arms, *Vert*, four escallops in cross, *arg.*; the top of each being turned towards the centre. Peter, son of John de Wenslagh, witnesses a charter at Walburn in 1351. Peter de Wenslaw witnesses another at

the same place in 1395. A Simon de Wenslagh was incumbent of Cowlam-upon-the-Wold, and died, circa, 1415. He was probably nephew, or some kinsman of the rector of Wensley.

⁵ See note A.

Bolton to the valuable and important rectory of Wensley.⁶ Bolton, the residence of the Scropes, was in the immediate vicinity of Wensley, and I am inclined to think that Sir Simon became now very closely connected with that distinguished family. Almost all the available legal knowledge of those times was centred in the ecclesiastics, and the lords of Bolton would gladly enrol among their clients one who, in addition to his own local influence, was so well qualified by his ability to advance their interests. We soon find Sir Simon again undertaking the trusteeship of the Walburn estates. On the 8th of June, 1361, Henry de Bellerby and Alice his wife put Simon parson of Wenslaw, John de Wawton, and others, in trust for the lordship of Walburn, and their estates in Bolton-on-Swale, Leeming, Scurveton (*hodie* Scruton) and Crakehall. The subsequent release is missing. Eight years afterwards, for the third time, we find the Rector of Wensley put in trust for the same estates. On the 21st of September, 1368, Henry de Bellerby grants all his lands in Walburn, Bellerby, Bolton-on-Swale, Great Langton, Leeming and Exilby, together with the lordship of Walburn, to Simon, parson of Wenslaw, John de Huthwat, parson of Danby Wiske, and Philip de Fulford, chaplain. This trust was released by Wenslaw and his co-trustees to Bellerby shortly afterwards. We now lose sight of Sir Simon for a considerable period. The next and the last time that he occurs is in the year 1386, when he appears at York as a witness on behalf of his patron lord Scrope, in the celebrated controversy with Sir Richard Grosvenor, who had usurped the ancient bearing of the Scropes, azure, a bend or. Sir Simon had now an excellent opportunity for repaying the kindness of his patron, and his statements are so singularly curious and important, that I shall give them at length. His testimony was evidently considered extremely valuable, and it occupies a prominent position among the depositions⁷ which were then received. It runs as follows :—

“ Sir Simon, parson of the church of Wynsselow, of the age of sixty years and upwards, said, certainly that the arms azure, a bend or, appertained to Sir Richard Scrope, for that

⁶ Dr. Whitaker says, that Sir Simon was presented to this living on the 29th of September, 1361. This date is incorrect, but I am unable to give the exact time of his appointment.

⁷ I must refer my readers to the Scrope and Grosvenor Roll, edited by Sir Harris Nicolas, to which I am greatly indebted.

they were in his church of Wynsselow⁸, in certain glass windows of that church, of which Sir Richard was patron ; and on the west gable window of the said church were the entire arms of Sir Richard Scrope in a glass window, the setting up of which arms was beyond the memory of man. The said arms were also in divers other parts of the said church, and in his chancel in a glass window, and in the east gable also were the said arms placed amongst the arms of great lords, such as the King, the Earl of Northumberland, the Lord of Neville, the Earl of Warren. He also said that there was a tomb in his cemetery of Simon⁹ Scrope, as might be seen by the inscription on the tomb, who was buried in the ancient fashion in a stone chest, with the inscription, *Cy gist Simond le Scrope*, without date. And after Simon Scrope lieth one Henry Scrope, son of the said Simon, in the same manner as his father, next the side of his father, in the same cemetery. And after him lieth William, son of the said Henry Scrope, who lieth in the manner aforesaid beneath the stone, and there is graven thereon, *Yey gist William le Scrope*, without date, for the bad weather, wind, and snow, and rain, had so defaced it, that no man could make out the remainder of the writing, so old and defaced was it. Several others of his lineage and name were buried there, one after the other, under large square stones, which being so massive were sunk into the earth, so that no more of the stone than the summit of it could be seen ; and many other of their sons and daughters were buried under great stones. From William came Henry Scrope,¹ knight, who lieth in the Abbey of St. Agatha, armed in the arms, azure, a bend or, which Sir Henry was founder of the said abbey ; and Sir William² Scrope, elder brother of Sir Richard that now is, lieth in the same abbey,³ with the arms depicted, but not painted. The said Sir Simon placed before the Commissioners an alb with flaps, upon which were embroidered the arms of the Scropes entire, the making of which arms and the name of the donor were beyond the

⁸ The church of Wensley contains some interesting memorials of the Scropes and some fine wood-work. The only arms which were in the windows in Dr. Whitaker's time, were those of Scrope and Dacre. The church was considerably altered in the reign of Henry VII. None

of the monuments in the cemetery which Sir Simon mentions are now observable.

⁹ See note B.

¹ See note C.

² See note D.

³ See note E.

memory of man. He added that the patronage of his church of Wynsselowe had always been vested in Sir Richard Scrope and his ancestors bearing the name of Scrope, beyond the memory of man; and that the arms azure, a bend or, had always been reputed to belong to him and his ancestors, and he never heard to the contrary; he had never heard that the arms had been challenged, or of Sir Richard Grosvenor, or any of his ancestors."

After this deposition, we hear no more of Sir Simon. He was above sixty years of age in 1386, when he gave his evidence, and he probably died before the new century began. He is not mentioned in the will of his patron, lord Scrope,⁴ which was made in the year 1400. That illustrious nobleman was a great benefactor to Wensley, and we can hardly suppose that he would have omitted the name of the aged rector, if he had been then alive.

JAMES RAINE, JUN.

NOTES.

A. Walburn Hall, near Richmond in Yorkshire, was the ancient estate of the family of Bellerby. Margaret, daughter and heir of Henry de Bellerby, married Peter Greathead, whose daughter and heir carried the estate into the family of Sedgwick. The heiress of the Sedgwicks married into the house of Lascelles of Brackenbergh. The estate afterwards came by purchase into the family of Hutton, and it is at present in the possession of Timothy Hutton, Esq., of Marske Hall, who has carefully restored the building. The present hall was built during the reign of Elizabeth, but some of the walls and other traces of the ancient mansion of the Bellerbys are still remaining. There used to be some fine old panelling and stained glass in the hall, but it is no longer to be found. Walburn Hall was garrisoned for Charles I. during the great rebellion by some companies of the Richmondshire train-bands, who were supplied with provisions by Matthew Hutton, Esq., of Marske. The little parish church of Downholme contains no memorials of the owners of Walburn save a rude shield bearing the arms of Bellerby, *or*, a chevron *gules*, between 3 bells *argent*.

B. Simon le Scrope of Flotmanby was of full age in 1205. He was living in 1225, and, on his death, was buried at Wensley. By Ingolian, his wife, he had Henry le Scrope, his son and heir, who was of full age in 1205. He married Julian, daughter of Roger Brune of Thornton, by whom he had a son, William le Scrope, who was interred at Wensley, near his father.

C. Henry Scrope, Knight Banneret, Lord of Croft, co. Ebor, 27 Edw. I. Judge of the Common Pleas, 1308. Chief Justice of the King's Bench, 1317. Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, 1327. Chief Justice of the

⁴ See note F.

King's Bench, 1330. Chief Baron of the Exchequer, 1333. He died, Sept. 7, 1336, and was buried in the abbey of St. Agatha, where, as the Abbot tells us, in his evidence in the Scrope and Grosvenor controversy, "Under the choir and higher up in a part of their church above the choir under raised stones, and upon the stone, is the representation of a knight painted with the arms *azure, a bend or*, who was called in his life-time Sir Henry Scrope, one of the founders of the said abbey."

d. Sir William Scrope was born in 1320. He served in the wars of Scotland and Brittany, and died, November 17, 1344, of a wound received at Morlaix. He was buried at Easby, "sculptured on a high tomb, armed, and the arms engraven on a shield represented upon him without colours."

e. The beautiful abbey of St. Agatha, near Richmond, was supported, to a great extent, by the piety and munificence of the Scropes. The abbot, who appears as a witness in the Scrope and Grosvenor controversy, after describing the tombs of the founder and his family, tells us, that there were many others of the family buried there, "under flat stones with their effigies sculptured thereon, and their shields represented with their arms, and on one side of the shield a naked sword; and their arms were throughout the church of St. Agatha in glass windows, on tablets before altars, on vestments, chambers, glass windows of chambers, in their refectory, and on a corporax case of silk, the making of which and the donor of it were beyond memory. He refers to the Chronicle of Bridlington as his authority for the Scropes using the arms, and says that the family was so ancient as to surpass the memory of man." A weather-beaten shield, with their well-known bearing, on the porch of the parish church, is now the only memorial of the Scropes at Easby. It is extremely probable that the chapel of the family within the monastery will ere long be opened out by the owner of the estate.

f. Richard, first Lord Scrope of Bolton, a most distinguished soldier and statesman, and one of the greatest men of his day. A full account of his exploits and services will be found in the Scrope and Grosvenor Roll; to which must be appended his interesting will, which has been given in the Testamenta Eboracensia, Vol. I. p. cc., published by the Surtees Society. In that document the testator leaves 40*l.* to repair the bridge at Wensley, and he bequeaths the remainder of his vast estate to his Alms-houses and College at Wensley.

THE CHURCH OF ST. MARY THE GREAT, CAMBRIDGE.

BY THE REV. EDMUND VENABLES, M.A.¹

THERE is perhaps no object so completely identified with the idea of Cambridge in the mind of every member of this University, as the Church of Great St. Mary. Conspicuous from its situation in the very centre of the town, and from being by many degrees the largest and most stately of its parish churches, there is no other building which has for so long a period been so intimately connected with the public life of the University. It is within its walls, or those of the churches which occupied the same site, that the University has for centuries been accustomed to assemble in its corporate capacity, to hear sermons, and perform all the more solemn religious ceremonials; and it was here that, until the erection of the Senate House, the Commencements were kept, the speeches recited, the theological disputations held, and much public business transacted which has now happily obtained a distinct and more appropriate location. It seemed, therefore, only fitting that at the Cambridge Meeting of the Archaeological Institute some attempt should be made to illustrate the history of this, the oldest, and, in many points of view, the most interesting of our University buildings; more especially at a time when the extensive alterations which have taken place in its immediate vicinity, render some large and well-considered work of renovation almost an object of necessity, and an opportunity is thereby presented of removing the awkward and unsightly excrescences by which this noble edifice has too long been deformed, and restoring to the interior that air of space and grandeur which it originally possessed, but which, in its present encumbered state, can hardly be appreciated. My purpose has not been so much to illustrate the architecture, as the history of the church, and to present a record of the more interesting events which have from time to time been transacted within it, and of those

¹ Communicated to the Architectural Section at the Meeting of the Institute in Cambridge, July 6, 1854.

successive alterations in its services, and furniture, which so accurately index the mutations in the national creed, and the varying tone of feeling of the governing body in the Church, and University.

The original foundation of St. Mary's is wrapt in the same obscurity with that of most of our parish churches. The first notice I have been able to discover of it, is of its being "much defaced with fire," July 9, 1290.² This injury was attributed to the Jews, those scapegoats of the middle ages, who were in consequence commanded to leave the town, where they had a large synagogue. A considerable time seems to have elapsed before the damage was fully repaired, for, in 1315, Alan de Wellis, burgess of the town, bequeathed "a mark to the building of St. Mary's Church."³ From Bishop Lisle's Register we learn that orders for the consecration of the high altar were sent, May 17, 1346, but from some unknown cause the ceremony seems not to have taken place till March 15, 1351. About this time the advowson was given by Edward III. to his new foundation of King's Hall, from which it has descended to its present possessors, Trinity College. As the chief church of the town it is probable that it was from the first the place where the University assembled for religious purposes, and that it thus gradually acquired the character of the University Church. Other churches, however, shared this dignity with it. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, while St. Mary's was slowly advancing to completion, the University met in St. Benet's Church, or that of the Austin Friars, which stood on the site of the old Botanical Garden.⁴ The church of the Franciscans, which stood on Sidney Sussex bowling green, was also frequently used for public exercises, and as late as 1507, the Commencement was held there. It is not generally known that the University narrowly missed obtaining, in this last-named church, that which has for so long a time been desired by her—possession of a church free from all parochial claims, which she might regard as exclusively her own, and use without question or dispute. This was at the Dissolution of

² Fuller's Hist. Camb. p. 77. Baker's MSS. ix. 94.

³ Cole's MSS. ix. 54.

⁴ Cole, ix. At this time the University contributed to the expenses of St. Benet's Church, and paid 6*s.* 8*d.* annually for the

use of the parish bell. In the University accounts we find "A.D. 1493, pro emendatione *le Clapour* campane Sei Benedicti, xx*d.* Pro una corda campane magne ecel Sei Benedicti iij*d.*" The last payment for the use of the bell was in 1535.

Monasteries, when the University applied to Henry VIII. for a gift of the church which they had already found so suitable to their requirements; but the monarch turned a deaf ear to their request, and gave the sacred edifice to Trinity College, (which he had recently founded by the amalgamation of several smaller halls and hostels,) whose members, actuated by a very different spirit from that which now distinguishes that noble foundation, immediately pulled it down, and employed the best of the materials in erecting their own buildings.⁵ But, to return to the subject of the present paper: within two centuries of its repair after the fire, little more than one after the consecration of its Altar, it was found necessary, either from its ruinous condition, or from the church being inadequate in size and beauty to the requirements and taste of the University, to rebuild the whole, and the first stone of the present building was laid May 16, 1478, "at forty-five minutes past six p.m."⁶ "All church work," says Fuller, "is slow; the mention of St. Mary's mindeth me of church work indeed, so long was it from the founding to the finishing thereof." And well might he say so; for, as he further records, notwithstanding the great exertions made by the University to obtain contributions to the building, and the liberal sums voted by them from their own chest, forty-one years elapsed before the fabric of the church was finished, and a hundred and thirty before the top stone of the tower was laid, and the edifice completed. The same historian informs us that "there was expended in the structure of the church alone, 795*l.* 2*s.* 1*d.*, all bestowed by charitable people for that purpose."⁷ The largest benefactor was Dr. Thomas Barrow, Archdeacon of Colchester, Fellow of King's Hall, and Chancellor of the House to Richard III., who gave no less than 240*l.*; nearly one-third of the entire sum; the next largest sum, 70*l.*, was contributed by Bishop Alcock of Ely. King Henry VII. also, when visiting his mother's recent foundation of Christ's College, was persuaded to assist in the work, giving 100 marks (66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*) in money, "a fair sum in that age," says Fuller, "for so thrifty a prince," besides an hundred oaks towards the framing of the roof, which was set up in 1506.⁸ The Lady Margaret herself gave 20*l.* Of the sums given by and through the University between the years 1478

⁵ Essex. MSS. Addit. Brit. Mus. Aekerman, *Microcosm of Cambridge*, ii. 261.

⁶ *Cant. Hist. Acad.* p. 89.

⁷ *Hist. Univ. Camb.* p. 180.

⁸ In commemoration of his munificence a yearly obit was kept by the University for which a pall of great splendour was provided.

and 1519, a record exists among App. Parker's MSS. in the library of C.C.C.⁹ The whole amount is 555*l.* 2*s.* 1*d.* The sums are very small for the first nine years, when they suddenly rise to upwards of 90*l.*, and nearly 60*l.* in the year following (1488). After this the contributions sink again, till 1503, in which, and the six ensuing years, nearly three hundred pounds were supplied by the University. The smallness of the collections for so many years was not the consequence of any want of zeal on the part of the University, who, in 1493, went so far as to send out the Proctors on hired horses, to collect for the Church, with begging letters written by the Vicar of Trumpington, who received 6*s.* 8*d.* for his trouble. Their journey, however, which lasted three weeks, proved a sad failure, for the whole sum furnished by the University this year, from every source, amounted to no more than 5*l.* 2*s.* 2½*d.*; and we are not surprised that the experiment does not appear to have been repeated.¹ The general superintendence of the building seems to have been committed to the parish, who appear to have been the willing recipients of the bounty of others, while they contributed little or nothing themselves towards the work, which was creeping on in the midst of many difficulties and discouragements, and was at last completed in 1519, with the exception of the tower, for which it had to wait nearly another century. As the body of the church drew to a conclusion, we find notices of the glazing of the windows. Henry Vesey, apothecary, by his will dated April 15, 1503, orders that "immediately after the south yle is new made mye executors do glase one of the windows with the lyf of S. Edward the King and Confessor." In 1518 the parish books contain "pro fabro vitriario pro fenestris xi^{s.}," and the next year, "1519, paid to James Nycolson, the glasier, for windows in Seynt Mary's, vii. lib." Nicholson was one of the glaziers employed in the executing the windows of King's College Chapel, from the gorgeous tints of which we may form some idea of what we have lost in the total destruction of the glass which once

⁹ Printed in Dr. Lamb's "Documents," p. 7. See Baker MSS. xxiv.

¹ Proctor's Accounts, 1493. "When they went with letters for S. Maries pro scriptione literarum Vicario de Trumpington, vi. viij^{d.}"

"Expensæ factæ pro itinere Procuratorum cum literis pro fabrica, Eccl. B. Marie pro tribus equis in itinere pro

viginti diebus xx^{s.}."

The vicar of Trumpington of that day seems from the University accounts to have been generally employed to write letters for his learned neighbours, e.g., "1499. Vicar. de Trumpiton pro literis ad matrem regis delatis xx^{s.}." "pro scriptione aliarum ij^{d.}." "1500, pro scriptione trium literarum 16^{d.}."

adorned St. Mary's. The building of King's College Chapel was being carried on at the same time with St. Mary's, and it is seen by the entries in the churchwarden's books that the same workmen were employed on the fabric of each edifice, as well as on their windows.

The church being now completed, very nearly in the form in which we at present see it, with the exception of the tower, which was not finished for nearly a century, steps were taken to provide it with the furniture required by the existing ritual. Nothing was then considered more essential to the completeness of a church than a gorgeous Rood Loft.² Parishes vied with one another in the rich and elaborate character of the structures which had by degrees usurped the place of the primitive *cancelli*, and though few have been allowed to survive the iconoclastic zeal of the Reformation, or the ignorance of later (so-called) church restorers and beautifiers, those that remain enable us to appreciate the taste and skill which were employed in their erection, and the lavish expenditure which they must have involved. No doubt every effort was made to furnish the University Church in this respect with the utmost splendour; and the original indenture for its erection, which has been fortunately preserved to us, proves that St. Mary's Rood Loft was one of no common magnificence. This document is as follows: ³—

“Thys Indenture made y^e last day of June in the xij yere of y^e reign of our soueraigne lord Kyng Henry viij, bytween Petir Cheke⁴ gentilman and Rob^t. Smith, wex-chaundeler chirche wardyns and kepers of y^e goods and catells of y^e s^d p^{is}he chirche of Seynt Marye next the Markett of Cambrigge, M^r. W^m. Butt Doctor of physike, M^r. Henry Halleched, Richard Clerk, Rob^t. Hobbys &c. with other mor parochianers of y^e s^d parisshe un that oon parte, And John Nunn of Drynkeston and Roger Belle of Ashfild in y^e countie of Suffolk, kervers, on that other parte, Wittnessyth that the s^d John Nune and Roger Belle covenant and graunte and also bynden them, ther heyres, and executors by theise presents, that they schall make and cause to be made a new Roodde lofte mete and convenyent for y^e s^d Chirche of Seynt Marye stretchynge in lengthe throughoute the same chirche,

² There was among the Church furniture in 1506, “A clothe for the rood-lofte steyned with Moses.”

³ This indenture was found by the late industrious Mr. Bowtell in the parish chest, tied up with others and labelled “these deeds appear to be useless.” Happily he took a transcript of it, which is to be found in his MSS. in Downing College. On searching the chest, the original cannot now be found.

⁴ This was probably the father of the famous Sir John Cheke, immortalised by Milton (Sonnet xi) as the reviver of the study of Greek in the University, and tutor of king Edward V.

He was one of the esquire bedells of the University, and died 1529, bequeathing “his soll to Almyty God, and to our Lady St. Mary, and to all th^e hole company of heven, and hys body to be buried in St. Mary Chyrche before Sent Poll.”

and the Iles therof, correspondent to a dore made in a walle un y^e Southe side of y^e s^d Chirche, all y^e Howsyngs, Crests, Voults, Orbs, Lyntells, Vorceers, Crownes, Archebotyns, and Baes⁵ for y^e small Howsyngs and all y^e Dores, fynyalls, and gabeletts therof, schall be of good Substancayall and hable waynescote : And all y^e pryneypall Baes and Crownes for y^e great howsyngs therof and y^e Archebotyns therunto belongyng, schal be of good and hable oke withoute sappe, rifte, wyndestruckk, or other deformatiff hurtefull.

“ And y^e briste of y^e seyde new Roodde Lofte schal be after and accordyng to y^e briste of y^e Roodelofte within y^e p^risshe Chirche of Tripplow in all maner housyngs, fynyalls, gabeletts, formes, fygyres, and rankenesse of Werke as good or better in ev^ry poynte.

“ And y^e briste of y^e sayde new Roodelofte schal be in depnesse viij foots, and y^e soler⁶ therof schal be in bredith viij foots with suche yomags⁷ as schal be advysed and appoynted by y^e parochyners of y^e said p^risshe of Seynt Maryes And the Trenitie, after y^e Roodelofte of y^e perelose of y^e quyer with a double dore, y^e pereloses of y^e ij chappells eyther of y^m with a single dore. The bakkesyde of y^e sayd Roodelofte to be also lyke to y^e bakkesyde of y^e Roodelofte of Gassely or better, wyth a⁸ poulpete into the mydds of y^e quyer. And all and ev^ry of these premysses schal be after and accordyng to the Trenitie, the Voulte, the dores, y^e pereloses and y^e werks of y^e Roodelofte of y^e Chirche of Gassely in y^e countye of Suffolke, as good or better in ev^ry poynte, and to agree and accord for ye⁹ of y^e sayde Chirche of Seynt Mary after y^e best workmanschippe and proporeon in eu^ry poynte. And all y^e Tymber of the same Roodelofte schal be full seisoned tymber. And all y^e Yomags therof schal be of good pyketurs, fourmes, and¹ Vicenamyces without Ryfts, Crakks, or other deformatyvys. The pillours therof schal be of full seisoned oke.

“ The housyngs, entayles, lyntells, fynyalls, and gabeletts, schal be Waynscott, And also schal set up a Beme wherupon y^e Roode schall stonde lyke unto y^e Beme within y^e sayde Roode of Gassely as good or better as y^e sayd beme of Gassely, met and convenyent for y^e said Chirche of Seynt Marye. And also schall make a Candalbeme mete and convenyent for our Ladye Chappell within y^e sayd Chirche of Seynt Mary. All theise premysses after and accordyng to the best werkmanschipp and proporeon as good as the patrons afore rehersed be, or better in eu^ry poynte, to be habled and juged in tyme convenyent after y^t be made and ffynished by

⁵ Professor Willis, “ Architectural Nomenclature of the Middle Ages,” defines these terms as “ the elementary parts of tabernacle and canopy work of the richest description, similar to that which crowns the monuments, stalls, and altars of this period.” *Housings* (called also *maisons* and *hovels*) stand for tabernacles or niches; *crests* are the pierced battlements, or other ornamental finishing; *orbs* (*fenestror orbis*) stand for blank panelling; *liutells* for the upper portion of windows; *vorceers* (called also *voussures*, *volsures*, *voûtes*) are vaults; *crowns* are, probably, almost synonymous with canopies; *archebotyns* are flying buttresses; *bases* for the small *housings*, are the bases, or pedestals for the images in the smaller niches; while, lastly, the *finials* or *gabeletts* are the

pinnacles, and the ornamented canopies of the niches, the former word never being applied in the middle ages, in its present restricted sense, to the bunch of foliage at the top of a pinnacle or canopy, which now usurps the name.

⁶ The floor of the Loft or gallery containing the Rood.

⁷ Images.

⁸ Pulpit.

⁹ In the copy of this Indenture in Bowtell's MSS., this blank is filled up with the word *Rune*, marked however as doubtful: I am unable to guess what the true reading is.

¹ “ Physiognomies.”

“ When as the paine of death she tasted had
And but half scene his ugly visnomic.”

SPENSER, *Faery Queen*, V. iv. 11.

two indifferent persones, wherof oon schal be chose by y^e foresaide chirchewardens and parochianers of Seynt Mary p^{ri}sshe : thodir by y^e sayde John Nunn and Roger Bell. And y^e saide John Nunne and R. Bell covenaut and graunte by these presents that they schall clerly and holly ffynysse all and eu^{er}y of y^e sayde premysses accordyng as ys afore rehersed, byfore y^e ffest of pentecost, whiche schal be in y^e yere of our lord god m^l n^o xxij. For whyche premysses so to be accomplysshed and don, the sayde Chirchewardens and parochianers afore-named by th^{er} assent and consent of all y^e parochianers of y^e said parisshe, covenaut, and graunte, and also bynde them, and ther Executors, by these presents, to pay therfore and cause to be payed unto the sayde J. Nunne and Roger to ther Executurs and assignes lxxxxj^l iij^s viij^d sterling, wherof y^e saide J. Nunne and Roger knowlegge themselfis well and truly to be content and payed and therof dothe utterly acquyt and discharge y^e saide Chirchewardens and parochianers ther Executors and Assignes by theise presents.

“ And xl. sterling resydue of y^e say^{ed} summe schal be payed unto y^e sayde J. Nunne and Roger to their hers Executors and Assignes, in maner and forme folowyng ; That y^s to Wytte atte y^e fest of y^e Natyvyte of Seynt John Baptist next coumyng, after y^e date herof, xx^l sterling, And atte suche tyme as the sayde J. Nunne and Roger have clerly and holly ffynysshed all y^e premysses other xx^l sterling in full payment and contentacon of the foresayd sume of Lxxxxij^l iij^s viij^d. To y^e which couenaunt payments graunts and arteicles aforesaid and eu^{er}y of them or eyther parte of the foresaid parties well and truly to be observed performed and kept, eyther of ye sayde parties bynde them to thodir ther hers and Executors in y^e sume of an c^l sterling by these presents.

“ Into Winesse wherof y^e parties aforesayde to theise Indenturs Interchangably haue putte ther Sealls. Goven the day and yer abovesaid.

“ per me ROGERUM BELLE,

“ per me JOHN NUNE.”

The works of the Rood Loft seem to have been continued during part of three years, and to have been brought to a conclusion in 1523, when the images of the Blessed Virgin and St. John on either side of the Rood were dedicated.² Further decorative works, however, were carried on for some years longer, and in 1525 we find it noted in the parish books that the executors “of Mr. John Erliche owe for a Legace by hym made to the said chirche over and bysides, 60s. already paid, for the *guylding* of the Trinitie in the Rode Loft.”

In 1519, the body of the church was seated by general subscription ; 7l. 17s. 5d. was raised, and 30s. was paid to William Whyte “for the full contentacyon of the paryssche parte of the payment.” A few years later a very early instance of the practice of *letting* seats is met with in the

² Parish Books. “It. for holowyng of y^e Ymagesse of Mari and Jhon viij^d.”

parish books—"rec^d of the Materasse maker in the Petycuri for the incumbe of a seate xvij^d." In 1538, the side chapel was erected and seats made in it "at ye charge of xxxviii^s iiiij^d," and two new seats were made in the body of the church, for the "bord and tymber" of which 13s. 4d. was paid. One of these was a permanent erection, being "under pinned with stone and mortar." The heads of houses and University officers were probably seated at this time, as they certainly were subsequently till the erection of the Doctors' gallery, in the middle of the last century, in stalls on either side of the Chancel. Here too the representatives of the monastic orders of Cambridge had their place, when a sermon *ad clerum*, or any other special occasion drew them from their own churches.³

The tower, though of no great height (131 feet), nor boasting of any remarkable beauty or stateliness, was the work of nearly a century. It was carried on with spiritless, halting progress; the necessary funds being raised with the utmost difficulty, in spite of the most persevering endeavours on the part of the University and Town to free themselves from the disgrace of having begun to build and not being able to finish. Subscriptions were entered into in the colleges, collections were made from year to year at the Commencements, legacies were hunted after, and in some cases obtained, and letters couched in terms of the most humble supplication were despatched to various rich and noble members of the University: but the sums that were derived from every source were far from commensurate with the plans and expectations of the promoters of the work, and when at length, in 1608, it was declared finished, and the topmost stone was laid by Robert Grumbold, the master workman, it was only by a kind of compromise, as it was still destitute of the spire, with which we learn from documentary evidence it had been intended to crown the whole.

Before the building of the tower,⁴ the bells were in a temporary bell-lodge in the churchyard, which, the parish books inform us, was, in 1505, taken down, the materials sold, and

³ P. B. A.D. 1500. "When there is a sermon *ad clerum*, the whyte chanons in the iiij stalls on the south and the monkys in the iiij on the north syde."

⁴ P. B. 1505. "It. to a mason to make holve in the stepell to hang the bells, iiiij^d.

It. to ij pieces of tymber for the hanging of the bells, iiiij^s vij^d."

It. to the smith in the petycury for the iron worke of the bells, iiiij^s, ij^d."

It. for 400 of segg for the stepell."

the bells hung in what was by courtesy called "the steeple,"⁵ though it had not quite reached the elevation of the church, and was covered with a roof of sedge. The parish books show that the work was slowly going on from this date, and was, in 1536, sufficiently advanced for the great west window, a truly noble specimen of perpendicular architecture, to be glazed. The entry in the following year, "payd to two men for half a day werk to bord y^e stepill to keep oute byrds vjd.," proves how incomplete the tower still was, in which state it remained till 1544, when fourpence was paid to one "Father Rotheram for vewing the steeple." The result of this survey appears in the entries of the following year, when stone and slate were brought in considerable quantities from the now dissolved monasteries,⁶ and several additional feet of height were added. The west portal of cinquecento design, which, though possessing no beauty, and out of keeping with the architecture around it, has, not unregretted, lately given place to a beautiful design of Mr. Scott's, was completed Jan. 20, 1576. Lady Burghley and others contributed money to it, and Sir W. Mildmay, the founder of Emmanuel College, twenty tons of freestone. It cost 113*l.* 4*s.* 2*d.*:⁷ an enormous sum considering the altered value of money. The clock which surmounts it was the gift of Mr. John Hatcher. It cost him 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, and in 1584 he bequeathed a sum of 40*s.* annually to keep it in repair. This same benefactor, in 1576, caused "a newe dore to be made on the south side of S. Marie's church into the hier chapple."

Dr. Perne, Master of Peter House, the Vicar of Bray of Cambridge, from whose convenient changes of opinion in conformity with those of the governing body in church and state, the wits of the day coined a new verb, *pernare*⁸—was at this time the most active promoter of the completion of St. Mary's tower. It was under his superintendence that the western portal was erected, and either by him, or at his instance, letters were written to Whitgift, then Bishop of Worcester,

⁵ "1517. For takyn down of the segge and tymbre of the stepyll xvjd.

1518. For timber for the stepyll, xiiij fotte.

1529. To iij laborers for haueing keepe heauing up stonys to the steeple either of them v dayes worke v^s."

1532. For makyn of studdys to hold up the steeple rooffe xij^d.

⁶ It. of W^m. Meere for ye stone at ye Black Friers xl^s.

for earyage of 20 lodes of slate from the late Austen Fryars iij^s iv^d.

for 4 pceys of great tymbre conteyning 64 feet, x^s viij^d.

for two lodes of lyme from the late White Fryers iv^d. ⁷ Baker's MSS. xxiv.

⁸ Fuller's Hist. Univ. Camb. p. 258.

Scambler, Bishop of Peterboro', Bentham, Bishop of Lichfield, to Serjeant Bendlows, and others, setting forth the poverty of the University, and earnestly petitioning for liberal benefactions. These letters, copied by Cole from the Public Orator's Book,⁹ are curious examples of begging letters two centuries ago. Writing to the Bishop of Peterborough, he laments that the tower "*nunc humo serpit, atque in obscuro delitescit, unde nec ipsa videri, neque campanæ in eâ collocatæ pulsari, nedum audiri possint,*" and begs that he will contribute to the raising of it at least to a sufficient height for the ringing of the bells. To Serjeant Bendlows he speaks of the wish of the University to raise the steeple above the roof, which "*in summâ ærarii nostri paupertate nunquam aggredi sumus ausi.*" At his death, Dr. Perne bequeathed 10*l.* towards the work, which was then approaching completion.

We have already referred to documentary evidence of a design for completing the tower with a spire. The following is the record alluded to; it is from the Cottonian Collection (Faustina, c. iii.) :—

"The square tower of St. Maries to be bulded 24 foote higher: the Spire or Broche wil be 80 foote hie at the leaste—good stone (free stone or asheler) at Thorney Abbey,¹ belonging to Sir William Russell Knight—water serveth very well to bring it lither from thence, in winter time whiles the waters be hie; newe Stone, from a place called King's Cliffe belonging to Sir Walter Mildmaye, by water from Gooneworth ferrie, 5 miles from the quarie—the parishioners to make a flore for the bells—to new cast the sermon bell—to have a chime to go on those five bells everie fourth hower and to have the greate Bell Ronge to the Sermon."

To this design the following entry in the parish books probably refers—

"1592. It, to a paynter for drawing of a platforme of S. Maries Steple upon velam parchment for my Lorde Archbysshop of Caunterburie, xvij*l.*"

It was fated, however, that there should be no rivalry in this respect between the two Universities, and the tower was continued on the present plan, which, though not devoid of dignity, is a striking contrast to the exquisite grace and beauty of the steeple of St. Mary's, Oxford.

In 1593, the parish, wearied out with perpetual delays, and ashamed of the still unfinished condition of their church, took the matter into their own hands, and "agreed to finish

⁹ p. 456, Cole ix. 51. Letters of thanks to contributors to the work are found, Baker MSS. in. 490.

¹ Parish Books, 1591. "For 7 Tonne of Freestone which came from Thorney—also to Martindall of Thorney, for 20 Ton."

the building of the steeple ;” which, in three years, by the aid of legacies and collections,² they were enabled to effect, so far that the bells, which had been hung in 1595, were, in 1596, “all runge oute, and never afore.” Tabor, who was Esquire Bedell at this time, relates that—

“The steeple, which was not finished when I came to Cambridge, but was covered with Thacke, and then Mr. Pooley Apothecary first, and after him John Warren undertooke the worke, and had collections in the several Colledges. I well remember in Beunett Coll., where I was first Pentioner, as Pentioners we all gave at the first collection 2*s.* a peece, Fellows 10*s.* a peece, and Schollers of the house 18*d.* a peece, Fellow Commoners 5*s.* a peece, or more as their Tutors thought fitting. And so a second collection when that would not serve : and these two contributions, with money usually gathered of strangers at Commencements, could not be lesse than about £800 or £1000.”

Twelve years later, 1608, the tower was finally completed, an event which was unhappily signalised by the death of John Warren, the superintendent and active promoter of the work. A melancholy occurrence, commemorated by the following curious epitaph within the church :—

A speaking stone
Reason may chaunce to blame ;
But did it knowe
Those ashes here doe lie
Which brought the Stones
That hid the Steeple's shame,
It would affirm
There were no Reason why,
Stones should not speake
Before theyr Builder die.
For here JOHN WARREN
Sleeps among the dead,
Who with the Church
His own Life finished.
Anno Domini 1608. Dec. 17.

The master workman, at the time of the completion of the tower, was Robert Grumbold. He was the builder of the river front of Clare Hall, the parapet of which is decorated with stone balls, similar to those which, till within the last few years, surmounted the turrets of St. Mary's. Their removal was an act of very questionable propriety, for, like the western portal, though far from beautiful in themselves, they were interesting as records of the taste of the period, and as the last link in the long chain of architectural evidence connecting the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, afforded by this building.

(To be continued.)

² Mrs. Magdalen Purvey, of Lincolnshire, bequeathed 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* The whole sum received by Mr. John Pooley was

179*l.* 12*s.* 7*d.*; that expended, 219*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.* We cannot learn whether the difference was made up to him.

EXAMPLES OF MEDÆVAL SEALS. SEALS PRESERVED AT WISBY IN GOTTLAND.

BY THE REV. FREDERICK SPURRELL, M.A.

DURING a visit to Sweden in 1849, impressions of some seals preserved at Wisby, a seaport town, capital of the island of Gottland in the Baltic, were obtained by me and brought to England. At a subsequent time, these seals being considered as possessing more than ordinary interest, I procured a more perfect set of impressions through the kindness of G. J. R. Gordon, Esq., H.B.M. Secretary of Legation at Stockholm, and Herre Eneqvist, the Rev. Dean of Endre, Custos of the Museum formed in the Gymnasium at Wisby. The seals described in the following notices are seven in number, six of large dimensions, and one of much smaller size. Representations of the entire series are here given of the same size as the originals.¹

No. 1. The seal of the Germans in Wisby of the guild of St. Canute. A round seal $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, and cut in very deep intaglio. Within a border is this inscription in Lombardic letters :

S:TEVTHVNICOR'IN:WISBI-DE·GVILDA·SQI·KANVTI
Sigillum Teuthonicorum in Wisbi de Gilda Sancti Kanuti. The inner margin of the area of the seal is elegantly cusped, each cusp terminating in a fleur-de-lys. The device is a seated figure of a king, 2 inches long, which undoubtedly represents Saint Canute, although no nimbus appears around his head.² In the right hand he holds a sceptre tipped with a fleur-de-lys, with the left hand he holds an orb surmounted by a cross. He is seated on a throne or *faldistorium*, of which the sides or arms

¹ It must be observed that of the large seals the two last of the set of impressions sent by Herre Eneqvist are numbered 6 and 7, whilst No. 5 is omitted, as also in his letter accompanying the seals. I have been unable to ascertain whether this is owing to some oversight, or whether this No. 5 may relate to a seal of this series known to exist, but lost or now inaccessible.

² Assuming that Saint Canute was Canute the Great, his history is closely connected with England. After the Danes

had made predatory incursions into England for 200 years, Canute, son of Sweyne I. King of Denmark, finally subdued the whole country in A.D. 1013. Soon afterwards Canute succeeded his father as King of Denmark and England, and in 1023 of Norway also, and was esteemed one of the bravest and most powerful warriors of that age. In the latter part of his life, he built churches and monasteries, and made a pilgrimage to Rome; for which piety, after his death in 1036, he was canonised by the church of Rome.

terminate in two lions' heads, as if two demi-lions were conjoined to form the throne, and each holds in the mouth a sprig of oak leaves. A cloth



embroidered or quilted in lozenges with a centre spot, covers the animals, the two fore-paws of each lion forming the support.

The date of this interesting seal may probably be the beginning of the XIIIth century.

The inscription upon it tells as much as is known of what its use was, and who possessed it; all that can be said about the employment of it is this.—That being the seal of the guild or corporation of German merchants dwelling at Wisby, it was used in sealing the charters, treaties, &c., which this guild had to make, either as members of that great mercantile confederacy, the Hanseatic league, in their general commerce, or perhaps in sharing in the municipal concerns of Wisby.

How the Germans were interested in Wisby will be alluded to presently in noticing another seal of the series, and the history of their connection with that town will be sketched briefly.

No. 2. The seal of the brothers of the *convivium* of Saint Lawrence. A pointed oval seal, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches long by $2\frac{5}{8}$ broad, not cut in such deep relief as No. 1, and of inferior workmanship. It bears this inscription :

†S:FRATRVM:DE:CONVIVIO:S:LAURENCII

Sigillum Fratrum de Convivio Sancti Laurencii. Within the border is an upright full-faced figure representing St. Lawrence. The Saint has a nimbus round his head, which is clean shaven, except the ordinary tonsure. He is dressed in the deacon's dalmatic over an alb, and at the neck is the usual embroidered amice. His right arm holds up the gridiron, emblem and instrument of his martyrdom; the left hand holds a closed book.

This seal is also of the XIIIth century, though perhaps later than No. 1.

The inscription appears to confirm the idea suggested by the shape

usually employed for ecclesiastical seals, that this is not a secular seal, but was used by the brothers of the Convent of St. Lawrence, if the term



convivium may be assumed to denote some kind of conventual establishment.

No. 3. The seal of the brotherhood of Saint Nicholas in Gottland. A seal $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, cut in bold relief, and of good, but careless workmanship. It bears this inscription :

"S' CONFRATERNITATIS SCD:NICHOLAY:IN:GOTLANDIA"

Sigillum confraternitatis Sancti Nicholay in Gotlandia. Within the border is the full-faced figure of a seated bishop. Round the head is an oval nimbus ; he wears a pointed mitre, and his face is clean shaven ; he wears an alb having an embroidered apparel at the feet. Over the alb he wears a chasuble, over it is laid the orphrey in the shape of a pall ; and round his broad neck is the amice embroidered with trefoils ; the right hand is held up with the first two fingers extended, the usual gesture of benediction ; in the left he holds a pastoral staff.

The seat is a level stool or bench having no back, and in the place of arms there are heads, resembling the head of a fawn or kid, facing inwards ; the seat seems to be a solid erection of masonry, hollowed at the sides by an angle cut in ; all the blank surface of the seal is marked by a diaper of lines ruled so as to form lozenges, but irregularly. Though at first sight it might be thought this was an ecclesiastical seal, from the representation of

a bishop on it, yet, the shape being round, the inference that may be drawn is that this is a secular seal; and that the “confraternitas,” or brotherhood, was not a religious body like a conventual establishment of monks, but a society whose members lived not only in Wisby, but were



scattered, as the inscription shows, “in Gotlandia,” that is, throughout the whole island of Gottland. What this society of St. Nicholas actually was, there is nothing left to show; it might be merely a guild of merchants, or a mixed general institution like the modern free-masons. We can only conclude that it was a secular body which took the figure of Bishop Nicholas as the emblem for their seal, and called their society by his name.

The date of this seal is probably of the early part of the XIVth century.

No. 4. The seal of the Germans frequenting Gottland.—A round seal, 2 $\frac{5}{8}$ inches in diameter. (See cut, next page.) It bears this inscription :

†SIGILL' THEVTHONICOR' GUTTLADIA' FREQUENTANTIVM

Sigillum Theuthonicorum Gutlandiam frequentantium. The whole of the circle within is taken up by three stems springing from twisted roots; the centre stem bears at the top a fleur-de-lys.³ This seal is unquestionably secular, its date seems to be the end of the XIIIth century, and it was used, as the inscription shows, by the Germans frequenting Gottland. Whether these “frequenters” were a resident corporate guild, or whether they were travelling merchants, can now only be imagined; this seems to have been the official seal of a recognised body, whether of a corporate guild or not, and it must be concluded that this enriched form of the fleur-de-lys, whether

³ On the Secretum of Stephen de Lis, Prior of Lewes, is the figure of a lily, plainly the emblem of his name. Per-

haps the fleur-de-lys of these Germans frequenting Gottland was emblematical of their trade, office, or character (?)

considered as a merchant's mark or not, was as valid an emblem for sealing as the figure of a saint or king.



No. 5. The seal of the Convivæ of St. James of Wisby. A pointed oval seal $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches long by 2 inches wide. It bears the inscription :

+S: CONVIVAR: S: J: A: DOBI DE VISBY

Sigillum Convivarum Sancti Jacobi de Visby. It will be observed that the



first letter of the word DE is capriciously formed so as to have the appearance of an M. Within is the standing figure of St. James ; his head is out

of all proportion, being too large for the rest of the body, while the lower parts are also far too small, except the feet; the head appears to be tonsured, with the hair long and flowing behind the ears, which are thus placed unduly forward; the mouth is open, and surrounded by moustache and beard; the dress is a gaberdine, or simple frock, and round his broad neck hangs a cord supporting a bag or palmer's scrip, on which is a large scallop shell; with the right hand he holds a staff ornamented with a knob at the top, and with a ferule and a point at the bottom; in the left hand he holds a closed book. The imperfections of this seal, together with the character of the letters, combine to give rather an earlier date to it, it may be of the early part of the XIIIth century.

Possibly these Convivæ were only members of a Guild; but the pointed-oval, or ecclesiastical shape of this seal, together with the cross placed at the beginning of the inscription, and the emblem of the saint, tend somewhat to suggest that the society for whom it was made were Cœnobites, or monastics. By this light, therefore, thrown upon the meaning of the word "convivarum," these "convivæ" may have been persons of some ecclesiastical character, who lived together under a common roof, and were bound by certain rules and habits. Yet, since from the name they do not seem to have been either nominally monks or friars, or bound by any strict rule of fraternity, possibly they were guests who lived together, wandering ecclesiastics. The idea conveyed by the pilgrim's dress of St. James leads further to the notion that they also had adopted the palmer's garb: and since few in those days were accustomed to assume that mark of distinction without having first made the pilgrimage to the Holy Land, it is not impossible that these Convivæ, who lived in times so connected with the Crusades, were really palmers, who had returned from their wanderings, and lived as a corporate body in Wisby.

No. 6.—The seal of the Mayor of the Guild of All Saints in Wisby. A round seal, 3 inches in diameter, and by no means less interesting than those previously described, on account of its late and somewhat richer style of workmanship. It is cut in deep relief, every portion of the surface being employed, unlike those preceding, in which the spaces between the border and the figure are blank; and it conveys the notion of resemblance to a Flemish brass, in which country indeed it may have been executed. Within the border is this inscription,

❧SIGILLVM❧MAIORIS:GILDE:OMNIVM:SANCTORVM:IN WISBY

Sigillum majoris gildæ omnium sanctorum in Wisby. The principal object is a sitting figure. A round nimbus marked with the cross commonly given to representations of Christ, points out at once that this figure is Jesus, and helps to explain the subject of the seal as representing the Saviour sitting in heaven receiving the saints with a blessing, and being attended by angels. The face is oval and thin, compared with the broad full faces of St. Laurence and St. James. The hair is long, and hangs in curls on the shoulders. The right hand is held up, with the first two fingers extended in the attitude of blessing; the other is held lower, with all fingers spread out. The seat is very small. On each side of the Saviour are three kneeling figures in long robes, with the hands uplifted in the attitude of supplication. There is no distinction indicating sex, all have bare faces, long hair twisted round the ear, according to the fashion of the XIVth century, and in

length and shape, the garment is the same for all ; two figures of the six have a broad band of embroidery round their dress, and another has the



whole dress spotted with a quatre-foil or flower. Above the Saviour's head there is an angel swinging a censer on each side.

Thus this seal is superior in elaborate decoration to the preceding ; the general characteristics of the workmanship seem to indicate it to be of a later date, probably made in the first quarter of the XIVth century.

Notwithstanding the holy character of the emblem, the inscription and circular shape seem sufficiently to show that this is a secular seal, used by the Mayor of the Guild, or, as the inscription has by some been explained, by the Greater Guild, of All Saints in Wisby.

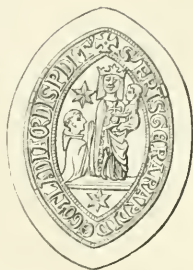
No. 7. — The seal of brother Gerard of Gotland, of the order of preachers. This seal is very much smaller than the preceding, but its original use and subsequent wanderings have made it equally interesting. It is a pointed oval, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch long, and $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch wide, of somewhat stiff design and workmanship. Around the edge is this inscription :

✠S'FRIS GERARARDI DE GOTLANDIA ORDINIS PDIT

Sigillum fratris Gerarardi de Gotlandia ordinis predicatorum. Within is a crowned female standing, holding a child, and a monk is kneeling, praying to them. There can be no doubt that this group represents brother Gerard and the Virgin Mary with the Infant Saviour. With the right hand she holds a ball, with the left hand she holds the Infant Jesus, while he is looking up to her face, and with his left hand he holds a cross on her bosom. On the Virgin's right hand kneels brother Gerard, with the tonsure, a hood and long robe ; his hands are upraised in the attitude of prayer. Over his

head is a star of six points, and there is a similar star below the ground on which the figures rest.

The date of this seal appears to be the early part of the XIVth century. Its shape and inscription point out plainly that it was the personal seal of an ecclesiastic, and, although he calls himself only "frater," since it was not the custom for each ordinary monk in a convent to have his own peculiar seal, and indeed for none but the head or some official of the body, this must be concluded to have been the private seal of brother Gerard of Gottland, who may have been chief of the order of Preachers (or Dominican monks) in that country.



At what time or in whose hands it left Gottland is not known, but the mode of its restoration a few years ago is too curious to be omitted. The seal is of silver, the shape not fully described. In 1825 a Wisby ship-master having taken a ship-load of copper from Alexandria to sell at Athru, in Candia, he there received in payment, together with all sorts of coin and curious things, this seal: and after keeping it for nearly twenty years, he presented it, in 1844, to the museum in Wisby.

To trace the progress of this seal during 500 years, and from such remote and disconnected islands as Gottland and Candia, is now of course impracticable; but in the words of that kind friend who has so materially assisted in procuring this and the other seals (H.B.M. Chargé d'Affaires at Stockholm), we may fancy, perhaps, brother Gerard voyaging to Rome and dying there or on board his ship, or being obliged to part with his silver signet for want of money. By some accident it may thus have reached Candia. But, certainly, the coincidence which after such a lapse of time brought it back to Gottland adds to its interest and value.

The first observation resulting from this minute examination of these seals is this—there is a curious degree of similarity in all the large seals, which seems to show they were made within a certain country, as well as century of time. Germany seems to be that country, and the XIIIth century that date. Some one or two differ, and they are evidently slightly later than the rest; but, as a series, they are of a coeval period, and an unique series for the variety of kindred subjects displayed upon them.

The next observation is the absence of heraldic bearings, which is a remarkable feature, and more curious because several of these seals seem indubitably to be of German manufacture, and amongst the Germans there was a great regard to heraldic insignia. Perhaps the reason was this, these guilds were formed of persons who did not possess the privilege of using arms as individuals, and yet considering themselves too important to use, as corporate bodies, the mere merchants' marks, they employed these

emblems. From this entire absence of heraldic devices the inference also may perhaps be drawn, that noble families had no connection with the societies to which these seals belonged.

To proceed now with the history of these seals, mention must first be made of the few facts that are known respecting them. It is satisfactory to know they are all now preserved amongst the numismatic collections of the Royal Gymnasium (or Museum) at Wisby, being considered to belong to the Record-office of the Cathedral Consistory there. They were all found in Gottland, and collected a few years ago from different places, having been rescued from different mean uses, to which, for a long time, they had been exposed. One was found in a peasant's house, where it had been used as a stamp for gingerbread cakes ; others, there is reason to think, had been employed for a like purpose, or for butter stamps : and while we may smile at this ignoble use of these seals, we shall feel glad that the practical purpose to which they were applied by the Swedish peasants has been the means of preserving these interesting seals of comparatively unknown institutions and people, whilst cupidity too commonly destroys any metal treasures soon after their discovery. The shape of the seals easily suggested this domestic use of them by the peasants, for they are raised on the back in the usual form of mediæval seals, with a handle for the fingers to grasp when making an impression. There is no inscription on the back, but in the handle of each is a hole large enough to have passed through it a chain or strong cord. The material of which some of them are made is stated to be "metal," by which the Swedes generally mean brass, and one or two are described as bronze ; the probability is, they are made of that hard mixed metal, of which the seals found in England are made, and which was generally used during the mediæval age.

After stating that none of these seals have been used officially for a long time, "several hundred years," as it is said at Wisby, and having mentioned all that is known of their later history, it may now be well to consider, very briefly, what has been recorded about them, and to glean the circumstances of their early history as far as they can be gathered.

Herre Eneqvist, the Curator of the Wisby Museum, in his letter, gives a reference to a Swedish book, "*Gothlandska*

Samlingar" (Gothland Collections) by George Wallin, in which, at Part I., page 116, and fig. iii., he states, that with the exception of No. 6, the preceding five (large) seals are all figured, and that the accompanying text "gives all the information that any one possesses respecting them." Not being able to find this book in the British Museum, or any library within my reach, the foregoing observations have not been confirmed or gathered from it: yet, inferring from another sentence in the letter, "We have no historical information whence these seals have come," that this book referred to would not enlighten us much, its absence therefore is not felt.⁴ "As regards No. 6," Herre Eneqvist continues, "about which Wallin gives us no information, this seal has probably belonged to the Guild which was attached to the first or oldest church here in Wisby, by a person of the name of Bolair of Akubeck, and which was dedicated to All Saints, as is mentioned in the short history attached to the edition of Gothland's Civil Law by Hadorph,⁵ and latterly again by Schlyter."⁶

In another sentence, Herre Eneqvist says, "It is probable that after the churches (of Wisby) were ruined, and the Guild-halls also, they all, finally, were united with the only church preserved, viz.: St. Mary's church, and (the seals, &c.) were preserved in the archives of its chapter." He also says, "No. 4 appears, in fact, to have been used in commercial, perhaps even in diplomatic affairs. All the others, viz. St. Canute's, for the Germans dwelling in Wisby, St. Lawrence's, St. Nicholas', St. James', and All Saints' have been in fact the seals of different Guilds."

It should be mentioned that some who have examined these

⁴ Mr. A. Nesbitt having informed me of a book which he thought might throw some light upon the history of these seals, after writing this paper I turned to it, and found it valuable in affording one more seal to the series, and in confirming the dates I had assigned. At the end of G. F. Sartorius' "Urkundliche Geschichte des Ursprunges der Deutschen Hanse, von J. M. Lappenberg," is a plate with two round seals engraved. No. 1 is represented attached to a deed, but the impression is very broken, and only two words of the inscription left, "Sigill' Theuthonico'," the device, however, plainly consists of stems of fleur-de-lys; and though this engraving is smaller, the device and words being identical with No. 4 of my series, there can be little doubt

that it represents the same seal. No. 2 is a seal as large as those of my series, the Lombardic inscription is "Sigillum Theuthoniceor' in Gotlandia manecium," and the device a stem of fleur-de-lys with two branches on each side but of a different character to No. 1; this, therefore, is the seal of another guild of "Germans remaining in Gottland;" the explanation adds that No. 1 is the seal of a deed made in November 1280 (confirming my idea of the date), and No. 2 of a deed dated 1287.

⁵ Joh. Hadorphius "Collection of Schonish Laws," Stockholm, 1676.

⁶ C. J. Schlyter "Juridiske Afhandlingar." Upsala, 1836. Neither of these Swedish books contains plates, and I have not had opportunity to examine them.

seals concur with Herre Eneqvist in the belief that none of them are ecclesiastical. But, having quoted all the information sent from Wisby, it is to be hoped presumption will not be imputed, when it is said a different opinion exists in my mind as to the character of the seals. This difference is mentioned, because the other point, the curious union of churches and guild-halls, also quoted, might not improperly be questioned either as a mistake, or that we must understand the ancient guilds in Wisby were really connected with the ancient churches, the corporations with certain parishes, and so the same saint was the emblem of both. It is certain there were churches in Wisby of the same names as the saints on these seals, and undoubtedly the sacred characters used by these guilds as emblems on their seals seem to countenance this idea of union, but it may be better to understand the remark in the latter as referring to the churches exclusively; viz. that on their destruction in 1361, the parishes were united, and one church was a centred union for them. Indeed, there can be little doubt that these guilds of which we have the seals—for waiving further discussion, four certainly are secular seals of guilds—were corporate bodies, separate and distinct from the churches and each other. At the present time it is not known that any guild-halls ever actually existed at Wisby; but amongst the numerous ruins of churches and other buildings now extant there, it is impossible to say whether or not some of them might truly have been the halls of guilds of which these were the seals.

Notwithstanding the doubt then of the buildings belonging to these corporations, these secular seals are plainly valuable proofs of the existence of native and foreign mercantile bodies; they certainly are relics of some of the ancient guilds of Wisby, and if the only vestiges of them left, are the more interesting.

The next and last point is, What was the immediate cause of this series of seals? For want of recorded information respecting it, the origin of these seals may be attempted from inference.

The German element is clearly the chief feature in the series, and without doubt it only remains to trace the connection of these German guilds with the Swedish town of Wisby, in order to find the immediate cause of the seals; and in the kindred Germanic character of the guilds, we arrive at the probable origin of these Swedish seals.

Wisby, where these seals were used, is the only town in Gottland, an island in the Baltic Sea, a country now chiefly known as supplying lime to the otherwise destitute granite soil of Sweden. The ancient marine laws of Wisby are generally known, but besides these, except to the sportsman, the tourist, or the archaeologist, the attractions of this locality are little known. Yet Wisby is an ancient town, and had early intercourse with its transmarine neighbours, so that it is a town of the highest historical and antiquarian interest. "The feudal walls and towers still exist almost in as entire a state as they were in the XIIIth century ;" and ruins and records prove that after the establishment of the Hanseatic League, Wisby attained, during the XIVth and XVth centuries, even a still greater degree of wealth and importance than it possessed as a powerful mercantile city in the Xth and XIth centuries. That Wisby was not too obscure a place to have so many guilds of merchants as these seals indicate, is shown by the fact that throughout Gottland, which is about eighty miles long by thirty-three at the widest, there are now about 100 churches, mostly early XIIIth century in date, and still in good preservation. In Wisby alone there are the remains of eighteen churches, of which some features are so curious that it is impossible to explain them. There was a St. Lawrence's as well as St. Nicholas' church ; and therefore our seals might have belonged to guilds of these names, and been connected with the churches in some way. Romish convents and large houses also are numerous there, and present the proofs that Wisby had varied and extensive mercantile dealings with places equally mercantile and civilised. And what places could these be but the Hanse towns ? It is then to the influence of the Hanseatic League that the origin of these seals must be ascribed, and consequently their use and validity recognised ; for Wisby indeed was no unimportant city in the confederacy of the Hanseatic League, and we can understand both somewhat of Wisby's extensive commerce from the character of the seals before us, and the dignity and value of these seals from their Hanseatic connection. Remembering, therefore, what the Hanseatic League was, we understand also directly why these seals of the Teutonic or Germans represent German guilds in Wisby, and indicate so close a connection between Germany and Gottland. "The Hanse towns (in Germany first) were

certain commercial cities associated for the protection of commerce ; to this confederacy acceded certain commercial cities in Holland, England, France, Spain, Italy, (and Sweden if only by Wisby) until the number of the Hanse cities amounted to seventy-two." The German origin of the league and the proximity of the German coast by the Baltic, explain to us therefore at once how easy and natural a thing it would be that Wisby should have, not only "Germans frequenting Gottland," a body of sufficient importance as to have a corporate seal for their guild, but that the Germans should have a permanent guild in Wisby known by the name of a national saint St. Canute.

There can be little doubt then that these Wisby seals are of Hanseatic origin, and of Hanseatic use ; and further, that the very existence of these seals at the present time has been influenced by that league ; for the fact of their preservation is owing probably to the subsequent obscurity of the Hanseatic League after its decline, when the seals were dispersed because uncalled for and uncared for.

Doubtless there were many more seals of other guilds and of convents, and in due time modern research may discover them ; as it has been shown, even these before us were unknown to exist till lately. At the end of the XIVth century Wisby was taken by the king of Denmark, and plundered of enormous wealth in merchandise ; it thus received a fatal blow to its prosperity, and the dispersion of the seals may have then commenced. But certainly the Hanseatic League, although for centuries it had commanded the respect and defied the power of kings, began to decline about the middle of the XVth century ; and if the assumed connection of these Wisby seals with the Hanseatic League be their true history, their dispersion occurred probably at this date.

With the league Wisby fell ; and these beautiful seals from Wisby—proofs of the civilisation of mediæval Gottland—valuable indications of the state of art amongst the merchant-traders of that time—vestiges of that splendid confederacy, the Hanseatic League, were lost for full 300 years, and only preserved from being cake-moulds by the hands of the archaeologist.

(The Central Committee desire to acknowledge the kindness of the author in contributing largely towards the cost of the woodcuts by which this memoir is illustrated.)

Original Documents.

INVENTORIES OF THE CHURCH GOODS IN THE TOWN OF SHREWSBURY AT THE TIME OF THE REFORMATION, AND PROCEEDINGS RESPECTING THEM IN THE REIGN OF EDWARD VI. A.D. 1552-53.

COMMUNICATED BY JOSEPH HUNTER, ESQ., VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY
OF ANTIQUARIES, AND ASSISTANT KEEPER OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS.

The Inventorie of the goodes, juels, and plate of the parishe cherech of Saynt Alkemundes of Salop, made the xxiiij.th day of August, anno domini mccccclij^o. et Edwardi VI. sexto, before Sir Addam Mitton, knyght, and the bailyfes of the towne of Salop.

In primis, oon ehalis with a paton parsell gylt. Item, iij. bels of oon accorde (and oon sawntz bell, *erased*). Item, a crosse of brasse, and a pix of copper, a senser of brasse and ij. candelstikes of brasse. Item, iij. corporace cases, and on pere of organs. Item, one cope of clothe of gold. Item, a cope and a vestment of purpull velwett (and gold together, *erased*). Item, on cope of blewe velwett (and one coope of tawny velwett, *erased*). Item, ij. coopes wityl colored of silke and golde. Item, iiij. coopes broken to make a carpett to the lordes table. Item, one vestment with ij. tunicles of blue velwett. Item, oon vestment with ij. tunicles of tawny velwett. Item, oon vestment with ij. tunicles of wite silke. Item, oon vestment with ij. tunicles reased with velwett. Item, iiij. (viij. *erased*) vestmentes of sondrie colors. Item, ij. alter clothes and ij. towls.

Presented by Robert Helyn, Richard Jukes, cherechwardens, Edward Sherer, Humfrey Arosmyght, Robert Hobbys, and Thomas Add'ton, and George Crane, Clarke.

FORIET ORIEN.¹—The Inventory indented of all the goodes, juelles, belles, and all other ornamentes belongynge to the paryshe of the crosse nere the towne of Salope, in the countye of Salope, taken by sir Wyllyam Hordeley, clerke, vyeare there, Humfrey Butler, Thomas Lye, wardens of the said paryshe churehe, Richard Hatton, John Prynce, Thomas Ofeley, Thomas Fraunce, syxe of the honest men and inhabytantes of the said paryshe, and

¹ Possibly Foriet *oriens*, or *orientale parte*, the "Est Ford," as this parish is called in the indenture which is given hereafter. The parish church of Holy Cross had previously been the church of the Benedictine Abbey, situated in the suburb of Foregate on the east side of Shrewsbury. In the history of the foundation this

suburb, now known as the Abbey Foregate, is thus described. — "Vicus Biforrietta vocatur, quod nos lingua Gallica, *ante portam* dicimus." Dugd. Mon. iii., p. 517. On the ancient seals still preserved in the parish chest, it is termed "Fforyate monachorum."

by the said vyear and vj. honest men, presented and delyvered the xvj.th daye of August in the syxte yere of the reigne of ower soverane lorde king Edward the syxte, by the grace of God Kynge of England, France and Irelande, defendour of the faythe, and of the churche of Englande and also of Irelande in erthe the supreme hed.

In primis, a (chales, *erased*) chalyee with a patent parcell gylte, weyng xij. ownees. Item, a crosse of wood and covered with (sylver, *erased*) laten plate and gylte. Item, a pyxe of maslyn.² Item, a sensar of maslyn. Item, a payre of cruetes of pewter. Item, a cope of whyte damaske. Item, a vestymēt of grene satane abrydges,³ and an albe of the same. Item, a vestymēt of blewe sylke brothered with golde, and a albe. Item, a vestymēt of whyte fostyane with a albe. Item, a vestymēt of red sylke with a blewe crosse brothered with gold. Item, a vestymēt of whyte fostyane with a blake crosse of velvett. Item, iij. corporas cases of sylke with a halowed clothe for the same. Item, too alter clothes. Item, oone paxe of glasse. Item, iiij. ringinge belles, with a bell whiche the clocke goethe upon. Item, too saerynge belles.

Item, a lytle chappelle which they use to bury at, beeyng at the townes ende, called Saynt Gyles chappell, with three small belles yn hyt.

Thomas Ofeley.—✠ Humfry Butler.—Thomas Aley.

The inventory and presentment of John Skynner and Hughe Benes, with sir John Greffeyes, Curat of Saynt Julyans, and the sayed Skynner and Benes beying churchwardens, wyth Rychard Dawes, John Evance, Thomas Lloid, and John Holywell, parishoners of the sayed churche, of all the goodes, juelles, ornamentes, belles there belongeng to the sayed parishe churche accordyng as tho charge to them geven by the kynges comysyoners assyngened (*sic*) for the tyme; anno regni regis Edwardi sexti sexto, vicessimo quarto Augusti.

In primis, one cope of (gold, *erased*) clothe of gold. Item, one chalyee selver gelte, weyng x. ownees. Item, iij. belles agreyng in one accorde. Item, one vyelett coppe of silke. Item, too chaunter coppes of taune selke. Item, a coppe of reidde selke with lyenes of golde. Item, a green coppe of selke. Item, a coppe of blowe and redde selke. Item, a vestment of vyelett selke. Item, a vestment of redde selke with lyones of golde. Item, a vestment of redd velvett. Item, a vestment of ray selke. Item, a vestment of selke blowe and redde. Item, a vestment of grene sylke. Item, one peare of organes. Item, iij. autureclothes. Item, iiij. autureclothes pented, Item, one towelle. Item, a crosse copur and gelte. Item, a pyxe copur and gelte. Item, iij. corporys cases.

John Gryfythys, curat.—Thomas Lloyd.

This presentment made xxiiij. day of Auguste, in the syxt yer of Edwarde the syxt, by Sur Joh clarke, cura of

² Maslyn was a kind of mixed yellow metal or brass, the precise composition of which it is not easy to define.—Ang. Sax. *masleum*, *ax*, *aurichaleum*. In these inventories it appears to be distinguished from the yellow metal termed latten, as also in contemporary lists of church goods in Leicestershire mention occurs of

crosses of mastlyn, brass, latin, base metal, and of copper.—Nichols' Hist. Leic., vol. iii. See Gloss. to Robert Glouc. v. Mastlyng. In 1400 an ecclesiastic in Yorkshire bequeaths "pelvium cum lavacro de messyng." Test. Ebor.

³ Satin manufactured at Bruges.

Saynt Maris within the towne of Salope, Wyllyam Wyttycares, William Yevans, Thomas Longley of the sayde church, of all suche godes, juelles, ornamentes, and belles to the sayde church accordyng to the geven by the kynges commysioners asined for the same, sir Adam Mitton, Kynght (*sic*), Roger Luter, Rychart Wytticars, bayles of the towne of Salop.

In primis, one coope of clothe of gold. Item, a chalis parcell gylt with a paten, weyng xij. ounces. Item, another chalis parcell gilt with a paten, in the handes of sir Edward Byseou. Item, a crose of coper and gylt. Item, a boxe covered with red velvet, with a lytle cupe in hit. Item, ij. brasen candl stikes. Item, a sute of vestmentes (with a cope, *erased*) of blu velvet brodrid with grapes of golde. Item, a sute of vesmentes (*sic*) of blu (velvet saten, *erased*) sarenet. Item, a sute of vesmentes of blake wosted. Item, a sute of vesmentes (*sic*) of whit bustion for lente. Item, viij. (sutes of, *erased*) coopes and vestmentes of divars sortes. Item, ij. pere of vestmentes, with albes and all therto belongynge. Item, an alter clothe befor the alther frynged with sylke and crule. Item, a stened clothe for the sepulker. Item, a paule quilted with sylke. Item, sixe corporus cakis of divers colors. Item, ij. alter clothes and ij. toweles. Item, a rynge of belles of v. with that that the cloke strykes on. Item, a litle saunce bell.

John Butlerre.—Wyllyam Wytakar.—Wyllyam Yevan.—Thomas Langley.—Rye' Rider.

The presentment of Edward Stevyns, clerke, curat of the parishe chu[rche of Saynt Chads in]⁴ the towne of Salop, Thomas Hosyar, Rychard Clerke, Roger Allen and Morgan wardens of the sayd church, with Humfrey Onysloo, Thomas Sturrey, Nyeolas [Purcell] and Edward Hosyar, Esquiers, paryshenors of the sayd paryshe, of all suche goodes [juelles] ornamentes and bells belongyn to the sayd church, accordynge to the char[ge to them] gebyn by the Kynges commissioners assyned for the same, the xvj.th day of in the syxt yere of the rayne of ovr sufferyn lorde kyng Edward the syxt, before sir Adam Mytton, Knyght, Roger Luter, and Rychard Whytaeres, bayles of the town of Salop for that yere.

Item, one cope of clothe of golde. (Item, one sute of vestmenttes with one cope of red reysyd velvett, *erased*.) Item, one sute of vestmentes of red velvet and one cope. Item, one sute of vestmentes of blue velvet and one cope. Item, a sute of vestmentes of blue velvett with crosleettes, and ij. chauntre copes. Item, one sute of vestmentes of grene syleke. Item, a sute of vestmentes of syleke, for sondayes. Item ij. sutes of vestmentes of whyte af lick (*sic*) gold. Item, a sute of blacke vestmentes. Item, a whyte vestment for lent. Item, a sute of grene vestmentes, lackyng the subdeacons. Item, a synge vestment of black worstyd. Item, a vestment of violett worstyd. Item, ij. violett copes callyd chauntre copes. Item, ij. grene copes and a red cope. Item, ij. grene copes, the one callyd the Sonday cope. Item, iiij. whyte copes and a cope of dornex.⁵ Item, a nother grene cope. Item, ij. cussyhnges of

⁴ Several defects here occur in the MS. which may probably be supplied as above.

⁵ A tissue manufactured at Tournay, formerly called *Dornyck*. Caxton, in the Book for Travellers, mentions Cloth of

Ypre,—of Dornyk (rendered in French *Tournay*) of ryselle (*Lylle*). See Mr. J. G. Nichols' Glossary to the Union Inventories, v. Dornex.

red velvett and grene on the one syde, and the other syde red damaseke. Item, ij. pyllowes of clothe of golde. Item, iij. pyllowes of the passion and one olde pyllowe. (Item, a front of green velvet for the hygh awter. Item, another frount party red velvett and black, *erased*.) Item, a sute of vestmentes called the nones vestmentes, and a cope. Item, a cope of olde red velvett. Item, iij. brasen candelstyckes. Item, ij. paxes of latten of Antyeck worek. Item, a sensor of latten. Item, ij. corporas cases. Item, iij. towells of sylke for Corpus Christi day. Item, a towell of ray sylk. Item, a towell of nydle woreke. Item, viij. diaper towells. Item, v. flaxen anetour clothes. Item, x. towells. Item, iij. hallff reyvyd⁶ diaper towells. Item one chalys, weyng xxxij. ounces and iij. quarters. Item, another chalys, weyng xij. ounces and iij. quarters. (Item, a box of sylver with a cheyne, iij. ounces and di, *erased*.) Item, iij. gret bells. Item, ij. small bells callyd the sauntes bells. Item, one gret bell that the clocke goethe apon.

Per me, Humfrey Onyslow.—Per me, Nicolaum Purell.—Per me, Edwardum Hosyer.—Thomas Yrland.—Richard Germyn.—John Muke-worth.—Edward Stevyns, clerke.—Thomas Hosyer.—Rychard Evared.⁷

Indentures for the safe keeping of the church goods which the king's commissioners allowed to remain in use, in May, 7 Edward VI. 1553.

Thys indenture made the xxij. day of May, anno regni Regis Edwardi sexti vij.^o, betwene sir Adam Mytton, Knyght, John Corbett of Lye, Esquier, and Roger Lewes, commissyoners by vertue off the Kynges majestes letters off commyssyon to them amongst other directed, of the one partie, and sir John Gryffes, Clerke, Curat off saynt Julyanes in the towne of Saloppe, John Skymer, Hugh Benes, wardens of the same church, Rychard Dawes, gent, John Evanes, gent, John Halywell, gent, parisheners of the said church, of thother partie, wytnessyth that there be remaineng within the same church on chalice with a patten weyng twelve ounces, and thre bellys in one corde, whiche chales with the patten and belles the sayed commyssyoners on the Kynges majestes behalfe straitly chargeth and commandyth them savely and surely to kepe unsold ne otherwise imbesyllyd, untyll suche tyme as the Kynges majesties plesure be unto them further signified and declared.

By me, John Gryfyths, cl. Per me Rychard Dawys.—Hugh Beynes.

There follow in like form another Indenture and three "Bills indentid." The indenture, dated 24 May, in the same year, was made between the same commissioners and George Crane, Vicar of St. Alkmund's, Salop, Robert Helyn and Richard Jukes, churchwardens, as to the custody of one chalice parcel gilt with a paten, weighing ten ounces, and three bells. The first bill indented, dated 23 May, 7 Edw. VI., was made between the same commissioners and "Sir John Buttrye, clerk, vicar assistent of Saint Maryes in Salope," Edward Clerke and Richard Ryder, wardens, Thomas Longley and William Evans, parishioners, as to the custody of one chalice with a paten weighing 12 ounces, five bells and a saunce bell. The second bill, dated 24 May, 7 Edw. VI., was made between the same

⁶ The use of this word as applied to cloth is somewhat unusual. The Prompt. Parv. gives "Ryvyn or rendyn, *lucero*.—Ryfte or ryvyng of clothe, or cutting, *scindura*."

⁷ A mark here occurs, probably the symbol of one of the parishioners who could not write his name.

commissioners and "Sir Wylliam Hordley, clerke, vycar of the est Forod, Humfrey Butler and Thomas Lee, wardens of the Est Forhed, Wylliam Powner, Thomas France' parischoners," as to the custody of one chalice with paten weighing 12 ounces, four bells and a clock bell in the said parish, and three little bells "in the (parishe, *erased*) buriall of seynthe Gyllys, beynge a beryall." The third bill, dated 23 May, 7 Edw. VI., was made between the same commissioners and "Sir Robert Scherer clerke, vicar of Meolle brace, Ryeard Medulycot, Rychard Scherer, wardens of the parish church of Meolle, Arthur Macwort, John Scherer, parischoners," as to the custody of one chalice with paten weighing five ounces, and three small bells. Meol-Brace, now called Bracemeol, is a vicarage in the liberty of the borough of Shrewsbury, and situate about a mile south of the town.

The following notes have also been preserved, comprising information of Church goods, supposed to be detained by private persons, in 1571 :

Villa Salop.

Certayne pipes of leade under the earthe, conveying water to the Abbey of St. Peter and Paule by Shrowsburye, as well within the Seite of the seid Abbey as withoute, moche within taken up by one William Langeley, by colour of the purchase of the seid Abbey. Also a cesterne of leade without the wall, taken up by the seid Langeley.⁸

Thomas Burnell, Bailiff of Shrowesburye, hathe xlvij. peces of Coapes and vestimentes perteyning to St. Chaddes.

In thandes (*sic*) of William Clerke, of Little Berwicke, a Challice, one coape, one little bell.

Thomas Stirry, heire of Thomas Stirrye, late of Roshall, gent., deceasyd, standyth chargeable with a Challice belonging to the Country Paryshe⁹ in St. Chaddes in Shrowsburye, delyveryd to his said father by Edward Betton, gent., and Richard Lancashere.

Thomas Bromall holdeth a Tythe concealed, of vij. s., the yere, sometyme belonging to the paryshe of St. Alkomondes in Salop.

Richard Lee, esquier, receyved xxj. peces of Coapes and vestimentes of Richarde Thornes, by vertue of a comission.

Richard Thornes hathe one Challice with a cover of silver parcell gylte, wayeng xij. oz., also vij. peces of coapes and vestimentes belonging to St. Maryes. Also he concealeth Obligacions of one c.li., made of the Jewells of St. Maryes church, and delyveryd by Obligation to divers men of the Paryshe in severall sommes.

William Alove and Richarde Powell detayne obligacions of cxl. li., made of the Ornamentes and Jewells of the Church of St. Chaddes, and delyveryd by severall Obligacions to divers men of the paryshe.

Robert Ireland the elder and Roger Luter detayne the Inventorye of the church goodes of St. Chaddes.

⁸ The site of the abbey had been granted by Henry VIII. on July 22, 1546, to Edward Watson, Esq., of Northamptonshire, and Henry Herdson, a tanner of London. On the following day they granted it to William Langley, of Salop, tailor, and it continued in his family till 1702. Browne Willis says that they never prospered after they had dug up the interments in the church.

⁹ This was probably Bicton, distant about three miles on the road to Oswestry. Edward VI. gave the tithes of Bicton, Frankwell, and other places, lately belonging to the collegiate church of St. Chad's, towards the endowing of the Free School, Shrewsbury. At the present time the perpetual curacies of Bicton and of Frankwell are in the patronage of the vicar of St. Chad's.

20 December, 1571.

Mr. Fanshewe.—I praye you receave these notes above wrytten, and that no man putt in information for them, because I have them in sute, and that I maye have processe for them at suche tyme as I shall call for them.

HENRY MIDDELMORE.

The foregoing documents are preserved amongst the records, late part of the Miscellanea of the Queen's Remembrancer, now in the custody of the Master of the Rolls, and in the charge of Mr. Hunter at Carlton Ride. It is due to Mr. Hunter that they have been brought into accessible form, and are available for historical inquiry. We are indebted to his kindness for calling our attention to the series of records connected with the Survey of Church Goods. They show the condition of parish churches shortly after the Reformation, whilst a considerable part of their ancient wealth in plate and vestments remained unalienated. The portion which Mr. Hunter has enabled us to lay before our readers, will amply show the character of these documents and the valuable evidence which they supply, as here exemplified by the returns relating to that chief of English towns, in which the Institute has recently found so cordial a welcome.

On April 2, 1552 (6 Edw. VI.), the king fell sick, as recorded in his Journal. On April 21, the following entry occurs. "It was agreed that Commissions should go out for to take certificate of the superfluous Church Plate to Mine use, and to see how it hath been embezeled."

In May, 1552, the issue of Commissions to persons of note in each county, city, or town, appears to have been in progress. Their names are recorded on the Patent Roll, 6 Edw. VI.; the list is given in the Seventh Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, appendix ii., p. 308, with copies of two commissions found on the Patent Rolls, and an extract from one of the originals remaining in the Exchequer, dated May 16, 6 Edw. VI. These instruments show the objects and powers of the commissioners. A catalogue, topographically arranged, of the inventories has been subjoined by Mr. Hunter, who has given a supplement to this catalogue in the Ninth Report of the Deputy Keeper, appendix ii., p. 283, with copies of the commission for the city of London, dated May 16, 6 Edw. VI.; the instruction to the commissioners, dated June 10, same year, and their answer. Fuller (Church Hist., b. vii.) had printed one of the commissions, from which an extract will be found in Collier; (Eccles. Hist. part II., b. iv., p. 335.) The Commissioners for Shrewsbury were Sir Robert Townsend, Sir Adam Mytton, John Corbett of Lee, the Bailiffs, and Richard Hord.

The Commissioners proceeded in their survey during the remainder of the year. After an interval of eight months, a fresh commission (dated Jan. 16, 6 Edw. VI., 1552-3) issued to the comptroller of the household and other persons appointed to receive the returns, to ensure that they were duly sent from all parts of the kingdom; also with power to appoint deputies to carry away things deemed unnecessary for orderly performance of the public services. Of linen and vestments, distribution was in some cases to be made to the poor, after reserving surplices and altar coverings suitable to each church; part was directed to be sold, as likewise bells deemed superfluous; the proceeds of such sales were to be delivered to the king's treasurer, the plate and ornaments to the keeper of the jewel house in the Tower.

The words contracted in the original record are here printed *in extenso*.

Proceedings at the Meetings of the Archaeological Institute.

MAY 4, 1855.

The Hon. RICHARD C. NEVILLE, F.S.A., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The Rev. CHARLES GRAVES, D.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, delivered a discourse on the sculptured grave-slab, inscribed with Oghams on both its edges, found in a cemetery in the island of Bressay, Shetland, and exhibited by Dr. Charlton in the Museum of the Institute, at the meeting in Newcastle-on-Tyne.

Representations of this remarkable slab have been given in the *Archæologia Æliana*, vol. iv. p. 150.¹ The interpretation of the Oghams given by Dr. Graves shows that the slab is commemorative of the daughter of Nahdfdad, whom he supposes to have been the discoverer of Iceland, about the middle of the ninth century, and bears the name of his grandson, designated as Benre, or the son of the Druid. This interesting memoir will be given hereafter.

Sir JAMES RAMSAY, Bart., gave a notice of the remarkable discovery, in 1854, of some large beads of blue porcelain, at a considerable depth, in a bog in the forest of Alwyth, in Perthshire, on the estates of Sir James, who brought the beads for examination. They are seventeen in number, melon-shaped, and are coated with the peculiar bright blue glaze commonly seen on beads and other ancient objects amongst Egyptian antiquities. There were also two highly polished black beads, found in the same place and bearing much resemblance to similar reliques found in Egypt. Roman vestiges exist, as Sir James observed, in the part of Perthshire where this discovery took place; and the supposition appears probable that the beads may actually be of Egyptian manufacture, brought to Scotland by some of the Roman legionaries.

Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN gave a short account of the discovery of a remarkable mosaic pavement at Caerwent (*Venta Silurum*), in Monmouthshire, in 1777. He produced a coloured representation of this tessellated floor, accurately taken at the time when it was found, and preserved at Tredgar. The discovery occurred in planting an orchard within the walls of the Roman station, and the pavement lay about 2 feet below the surface. Mr. Lewis, to whom the site belonged, erected a building over it to ensure its preservation; but the pavement is now wholly destroyed, the roof having unfortunately become decayed about forty years since and fallen in. The floor measured about 21 feet by 18 feet. The design consisted of circular compartments, about 3 feet in diameter, surrounded by a border of elegant decoration. No representation of this pavement appears to have been published, and Mr. Morgan considered it to be deserving of notice, as displaying

¹ See a notice of this slab in "Notes and Queries," vol. xi., p. 285.

certain elements of ornamental design which might be of Celtic character, and are dissimilar to the ordinary Roman types. A short notice of the discovery was communicated by Mr. H. Penruddock Wyndham to the Society of Antiquaries, and published in the *Archæologia*, vol. vii. p. 410. The precise position of the pavement is indicated in Morrice's Survey of the station, given in Coxe's *Monmouthshire*, vol. i. p. 25, where it is described as hastening fast to decay. Mr. Morgan observed, that he proposed, in the course of the present year, to commence excavations at Caerwent and to examine the structure of which the remains had formed part.

Mr. H. HARROD communicated the following particulars regarding a remarkable deposit of reliques of bronze found about a month previously at West Hall, near Halesworth, Suffolk. Numerous Roman remains have been found near the spot, where broken pottery of Roman fabrication occurs in abundance. The objects brought by Mr. Harrod for the inspection of the Society comprised a number of bronze rings, closely resembling in fashion and workmanship those found on Polden Hill, Somerset, and the large collection brought to light at Stanwick, Yorkshire, presented to the British Museum by the Duke of Northumberland. They are elaborately ornamented with stippled or punctured designs, and enriched with small portions of opaque enamel in cavities chased on the surface. They had been deposited in a singular box or vessel of bronze, which was much decayed. Mr. Harrod exhibited part of a thin bronze plate, about 6 inches in diameter, wrought with a cruciform ornament, and an animal (a lamb?) in the centre of the cross. He produced also a Roman lamp of bronze with a crescent on its handle, and a defaced coin, found close to the deposit above described. Mr. Akerman had supposed it to be a coin of Antonine; Mr. Neville, however, thought it might be of Faustina, and he observed that a bronze lamp, ornamented in like manner with a crescent, and found at Thornborough, Bucks, is now in his museum at Audley End. The bronze rings appear suited for horse-furniture or harness; the largest measure about 3 by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. They were found in draining at a depth of about 2 feet. They have subsequently been purchased for the British Museum.

A memoir, by Mr. W. S. WALFORD, was read, in explanation of a document lately found amongst the Tower Records, being a petition to Edward II. by Walter the Marburer of London. (Printed in this volume, p. 137.)

Mr. NELSON, secretary of the Institute of British Architects, communicated a notice of a singular discovery at St. Peter's Maneroft Church, Norwich, where, during restorations carried out in 1852, the remains of passages had been found under the chancel floor, having earthen jars imbedded in the side walls. These vessels, of red ware with a slight glaze on the upper part, were laid horizontally about 4 feet apart, their mouths being flush with the face of the wall; they measure 8 inches in height, diameter of the mouth about 6 inches. A detailed account had been submitted to the Institute of British Architects by Mr. S. W. Tracy, under whose direction the restorations had been executed; and his drawings illustrative of this remarkable construction, the intention of which had not been satisfactorily explained, were brought by Mr. Nelson, with one of the earthen jars, for the inspection of the meeting. Mr. Nelson stated that a similar discovery of vessels imbedded in masonry had occurred at Fountains Abbey, below the level of the floor, in a part of the church where a screen appeared to have been constructed at the east end of the nave. One of these vessels had been sent to London by the Earl de Gréy for examination, and an

account of the circumstances connected with the discovery has appeared in the Transactions of the Institute of British Architects. Vestiges of a similar passage under the chancel-floor, in the side-walls of which several one-handled jars, or pitchers, were found imbedded, had been noticed during the repairs of St. Nicholas' church, Ipswich; and a passage of like construction, but without any such vessels in its walls, had occurred in the chancel at St. Peter's church, Sudbury.

Mr. EVELYN P. SHIRLEY, M.P., gave the following account of the crozier of the abbots of Fore, co. Westmeath, in the possession of Richard Nugent, Esq., son of Christopher Edmund Nugent, Esq., late of Farren-Connell, in the county of Cavan. The crozier, of the peculiar Irish form, was, through Mr. Nugent's kindness, exhibited by Mr. Shirley on this occasion.

"The Abbey of Fore, Four, or Fourre, in Latin *Favoria*, in Irish, Fobhar, was founded for Regular Canons of St. Augustine about the beginning of the 7th century, by St. Fechin, who died A.D. 665, on the 20th of January, on which day his festival has been always observed. This monastery became famous as a seat of learning and religion for many ages, and, according to Usher, was called '*Baile-na-leabhar*,' or the 'Town of Books,' or of learning, from the great seminary established there. Ultimately it became a bishop's see; in the twelfth century it was united to the diocese of Meath. In 1209, Walter de Lacy, Lord of Meath, refounded the Abbey of Fore for Benedictine monks, brought over by him from the abbey of St. Taurin, at Evreux in Normandy, and made it a cell to that, since which time this house has been called the Priory of St. Fechin and St. Taurin. William Nugent, the last prior of Fore, gave this crozier to his kinsman Oliver Nugent, of Enagh, third son of Christopher Nugent, Baron of Delvin, to whom the abbey of Fore was granted by Queen Elizabeth, in 1588. From this William it has descended in a direct line to Richard Nugent, Esq., the present possessor."

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. BRACKSTONE.—A remarkable axe-head of stone, found in Stainton Dale, near Scarborough, Yorkshire, in January last, by a farm servant who was employed in cutting a drain. It was sold by the finder to Mr. Longbottom, a lapidary at Scarborough. The material of which it is formed appears to be a porphyritic greenstone, with white specks, probably of quartz, and bearing resemblance to some rocks occurring in North Wales. This stone axe measures $7\frac{3}{4}$ in. in length. It is perforated to receive a haft, and partakes of the characteristics both of hammer and axe, one end being obtusely pointed, the other is shaped to a sharp edge, cut very round, and measures 5 in. in breadth. Perforated stone axe-heads are rarely found in this country, and none appear to have been noticed of precisely the same type as that exhibited by Mr. Brackstone. Several examples of these ancient weapons are given by Sir Richard Colt Hoare, discovered in tumuli in Wilts. A remarkable specimen, found in South Wales, and now in the possession of Mr. G. Grant Francis, has been figured in this Journal, vol. iii., p. 67.² The example, bearing most resemblance to that exhibited, is figured, Ulster Journal of Archæology, vol. iii. p. 234.

² Other examples of the perforated stone axe-head are figured in Mr. Allies'

"Antiquities of Worcestershire," 2nd edit. pl. 4, p. 150: two found in the north of

By Mr. HENRY LATHAM.—A flint celt; a saucer, or *patera*, of dark ware, and a bottle of black ware, both apparently of Roman fabrication, found in digging gravel at Wiggonholt, Sussex, near the bank of the river Arun.

By Mr. R. G. P. MINTY.—A bronze celt, remarkable for its preservation and the ornamentation, of rare occurrence on objects of this class found in England, although comparatively common in Ireland. It was found at Liss, near Petersfield, Hants. In general form and dimensions it closely resembles that figured in Mr. Dunoyer's memoir on Celts, in this Journal, vol. iv., p. 328, pl. 1, fig. 31; but the ornament covering part of each face is less elaborate in the celt from Liss, and consists of small parallel lines, not engraved by a cutting tool, but apparently produced by a blunt chisel and the aid of a hammer. The sides are grooved diagonally, and slightly overlap the blade. There is no trace of any stop-ridge. Length 6 in.; breadth of the cutting edge, nearly $3\frac{1}{2}$ in.

Mr. Minty presented to the Institute a perfect specimen of the flanged tiles found at Froxfield, Hants, as described at the previous meeting (see p. 199, *ante*). They are of the kind properly used for roofing, but were found placed as the floor of a small Roman building, supposed to have been a bath; and they measured about 17 in. by $13\frac{1}{2}$ at one end, and $11\frac{3}{8}$ at the other. A small part of the flange is cut away at both ends, to facilitate the overlapping of the tiles, and near the upper margin of one of them is a perforation, for the purpose of pinning the tiles to the rafters.

By Mr. WESTWOOD.—Representations of a sculptured fragment, in the possession of Mr. Staniforth, of Sheffield, which appears to have formed the shaft of a cross of the XIth or XIIth century. It had been used as a "hardening trough" at a blacksmith's shop, one side having been chiselled out so as to convey the notion that it might have served as a stone coffin. This, however, Mr. Westwood is decidedly of opinion had not been the original intention; the part now standing above the surface of the ground (the lower end being deeply imbedded in the earth) measures 51 in. in height; one side is 21 in. in width at the base, and $15\frac{1}{2}$ at top; the other two sides being 11 in. wide. The widest face is sculptured with a foliated scroll ornament, like that on the cross at Eyam; there is a figure of an archer kneeling introduced in the design. The narrower sides also have foliated scrolls, but one presents an example of an interlaced riband pattern precisely like that on the narrow side of the cross at Eyam.³ The sculptured fragment at Sheffield has been noticed in Rhodes' Peak Scenery. Mr. Westwood brought also, in illustration of the Irish crozier exhibited by Mr. Shirley, representations of the highly ornamented reliques of the same description, in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire, supposed to have been used by the first bishop of Lismore, and exhibited by his grace's kind permission at the meeting of the Institute in March, 1850. (Journal, vol. vii., p. 83.) Also, drawings of a pastoral staff belonging to Cardinal

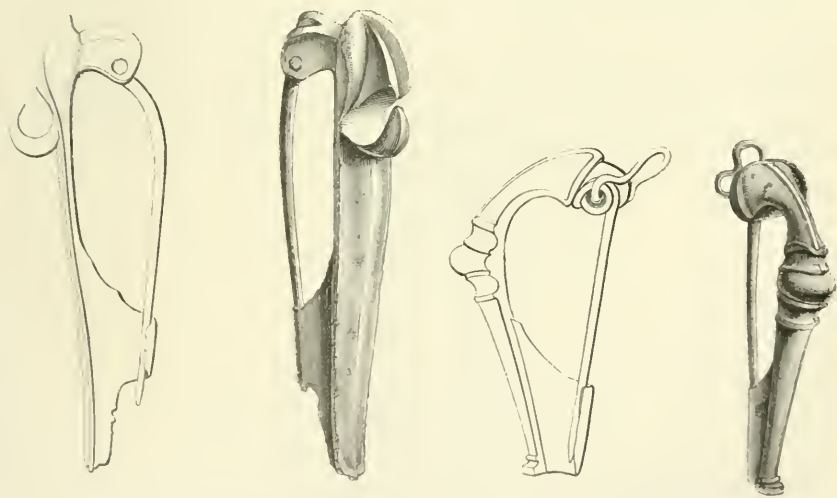
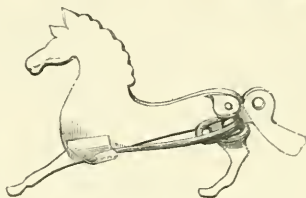
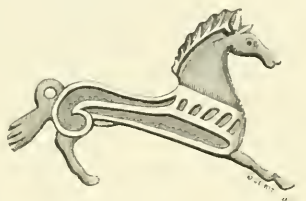
England are given in Bishop Lyttelton's *Observations on stone hatchets*, Archæologia, vol. ii., p. 113, pl. 8; and various types found in Scotland are figured by Dr. Wilson, in his "Prehistoric Annals," pp. 135, 137. The type found in Stanton Dale does not appear amongst the numerous Scandinavian antiquities of stone figured in the "Nordisk Tidsskrift," pub-

lished in 1832, at Copenhagen, by the Society of Antiquaries of the North; Bind I., plates 2—4; or in Worsaae's "Afbildinger," from the Royal Museum at Copenhagen, pp. 11, 12.

³ See a representation of the cross at Eyam in Mr. Bateman's "Antiquities of Derbyshire," p. 209.

Wiseman, purchased in London ; of that of the abbots of Clonmacnoise, in the Museum of the Irish Academy ; of another in the same collection ; and of the head of an Irish crozier, now in the British Museum. Mr. Westwood remarked, that from the manner in which one of the bosses of the staff belonging to Cardinal Wiseman was worn smooth, it is evident that these pastoral insignia in Ireland were not carried in the same manner as the bishop's crozier was usually borne. The Irish *cambuca* was held lower down, the upper part resting on the shoulder.

By Mr. WAY.—Representations of three *fibulae*, of Roman workmanship, in the possession of the Rev. R. Gordon, of Elsfield. One of them, found at Painswick, Gloucestershire, is remarkable for the form and decoration in coloured enamels, fixed by fusion in shallow cavities on the surface, in similar manner as the mediæval *champlevé* enamels are executed. (See woodcuts, orig. size.) Examples of this description are comparatively rare in this country. An enamelled fibula, in the form of a cock, was found in a Roman villa on Lancing Down, Sussex. (Figured in *Gent. Mag.*, vol. C. ii., p. 17.) Another, in the form of a horse, with its rider, was found at Kirkby Thore, Westmorland, and is now in the Museum of Practical Geology in Jermyn-street. It is figured in the



Bronze fibulae, in the possession of the Rev. R. Gordon. Original size.

Archæologia, vol. xxxi., p. 284. The two other brooches in Mr. Gordon's collection are of bronze, of elegant form, and in unusual preservation. They were found at Drunshill, near Elsfield, Oxfordshire.

By the Rev. WALTER SNEYD.—A remarkable piece of open work, in horn, supposed to have been used to decorate the binding of a book. Date, XIIth century. It had been obtained at Cologne, and is unique, possibly, as an example of highly enriched work in horn, at that early period. The ornament consists of foliage and flowers combined with a pattern occurring in borders of illuminations in MSS. of the XIth and XIIth centuries.

By Mr. ALEXANDER NESBITT.—A rubbing from an incised slab, which is fixed against the wall in the south transept of the Cathedral of Carcassonne, in the south of France. It is without inscription, but is believed to be a memorial of Simon de Montfort, the famous leader in the crusade against the Albigenses; the armorial bearings on the surcoat, and the costume, appear fully to warrant its being ascribed to that remarkable person. He was killed on the 25th June, 1218, by a stone from a mangonel, while besieging Toulouse, and his funeral obsequies were performed with much pomp at Carcassonne, but his body was transported to the priory of Hautes Bruyères, near his ancestral castle of Montfort, and there interred. A sculptured tomb bearing his effigy was, it appears, placed over his remains in the burial-place of his family, where were to be seen the tombs of the famous Bertrade, and of Amaury, Simon's son and successor. These were destroyed, probably, in 1793, and no traces can now be found. The tradition regarding the slab at Carcassonne appears to be confirmed by the bearings upon the surcoat which will be seen to be alternately lions, and crosses of the form called by heralds "crosses of Toulouse." The order of arrangement is now somewhat irregular, in part owing to the parts of the slab having been defaced by the tread of feet, when (as no doubt it once did) it formed a part of the pavement. The lion is the coat of the De Montforts, usually given as "Gules, a lion rampant with a forked tail; argent, the crosses of the county of Toulouse," which had been granted to him by the pope, the Council of Lateran, and the King of France.

By the Rev. E. TROLLOPE.—A rubbing from an inscription on a coffin-slab, lately dug up in the churchyard at Doddington, near Faversham, Kent. The dimensions of the slab, which is of Kentish rag, are—length, 6 ft. 6 in.; width, at the head, 33 in., at the foot, 21 in. This rhyming *quatrain* forms six lines on the upper part of the slab, as follows:—

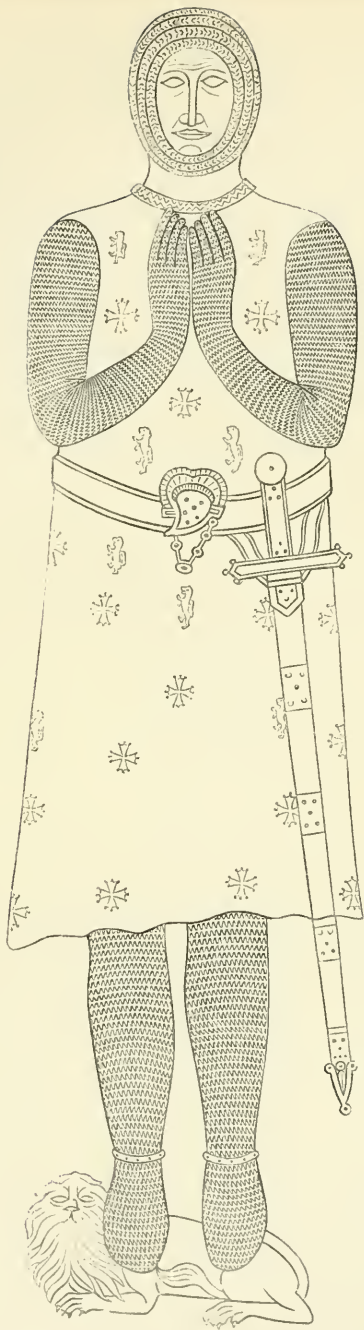
✠ ICI : GIST : AGNES : DE : SUTH¹
 CESTE PERE : VOUS : IRREZ : T
 OUZ A MESON : ME : COUENT : DE
 MOHER E : ORE : VOUS : PRIE : ZY
 ATER : AMY : CHER : LE : MAIE : MO
 RTE : VOILLET : PENSER :

which may be thus rendered—

Here lies Agnes under this stone :
 All go to the house where I am gone :
 Hither hasten, friend so dear :
 Think of the poor dead maiden here.

There is nothing to indicate who was the damsel Agnes here interred. *Mai* in old French sometimes signifies a mother (*mater*, Roquefort in v.) : here, however, the word is probably the same which is used repeatedly by

¹ *Deuous*. Kelham gives "*Suthdit*, hereunder."



Incised Slab in the Cathedral of Carcassonne, in France,
BELIEVED TO BE A MEMORIAL OF SIMON DE MONTFORT, SLAIN AT THE SIEGE OF TOULOUSE,
JUNE 25, 1218.

(Length of the figure 8 feet 4 inches.)



Chaucer and the older writers of English romance—"May," A. Sax. *Maeg*, a virgin, a maiden.

June 1, 1855.

The Hon. RICHARD C. NEVILLE, F.S.A., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The Rev. JOHN ROGERS, Canon of Exeter, communicated, through Mr. C. Tucker, the following notice of an inscribed Roman tablet, in imperfect condition, found in the wall of the church at St. Hilary, Cornwall:—

"On Good Friday, 1853, the church of St. Hilary was burnt down; the fire having been caused by the corroded state of the pipe connected with the stove. In the course of the following year, on digging up the foundation, a slab of granite, about 7 ft. long, and 2 ft. broad, was found, with an inscription on the under side. It had been used as a foundation stone in the north wall of the chancel. The letters have been obliterated in many places by weathering; it is therefore difficult, if not impossible, to restore the inscription with certainty. The letters which may be deciphered appear to be as follows:—

N . . . P . . LS
FLAV . . VS . .
CONSTANTINO
PIO AVGVS . .
CAES
DUCI
.. ONSTANTI . .
PII
AVG
FILIO

The first line is almost wholly obliterated, and the letters can only be traced with the finger by a person accustomed to decipher decayed inscriptions; indeed, many of our granite inscriptions cannot be traced by the eye alone, the aid of the finger being indispensable. The last letters of the fourth and following lines are obliterated, and the initial C, line 7, is chipped away. The second character in the sixth line (U?), is very questionable. It may be observed that the letter A, in every instance, has no transverse stroke. An account of the discovery was given in the Cornwall Gazette of Nov. 25, 1854, with an imperfect copy of the inscription."

Mr. R. FALKNER, of Devizes, communicated a notice of some remains, assigned to the Roman period, and found near the remarkable boundary, known as the Wansdike, in Wiltshire. About two years since, a leaden coffin, supposed to be Roman, had been found at Roundway, in the same county. (Arch. Journal, vol. x. p. 61.) A similar deposit has recently been brought to light at Headington Wick, midway between Devizes and Calne; its interest is increased by the proximity of the site of the discovery to the Wansdike, and to the Roman station *Verlucio*. In construction, this leaden cist was like that found at Roundway, being formed of sheet lead merely folded up and fused together, apparently, at the upper corners, without solder. The covering was decayed as was also the bottom of the coffin.

but the sides were more perfect, and the stoutest part measured about $\frac{5}{16}$ in. in thickness. The coffin lay N. and S. about $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet under the surface, the head turned a few degrees towards the east, as had been noticed in the interment at Roundway. The lid, which was only placed loosely on the cist, and the margin bent down over it, had prevented any earth falling in; the remains found within were portions of the cranium and of one of the vertebræ. The form of the cist is not rectangular, as in the instance formerly noticed, but wider at the head, where it measures 17 inches in width, the angles being rounded, and it increases in breadth to 20 inches at the shoulders; at the feet it is only 11 inches. The depth of the cist is 9 inches. Mr. Falkner sent also a drawing of the lower portion of a *cylix* of dark ware without glaze, ornamented with a broad band of large scales, and a line of impressed markings. (In form it resembled fig. 43, Catalogue of the Museum of Economic Geology, p. 72.) It is probably of the Castor manufacture, the body red, the surface of a dark colour. It was found in a field called "Bowlers," at Headington Wick, at a spot where there are some indications of buildings having existed, possibly in Roman times.

Mr. JAMES YATES gave the following observations on the Roman moulds used for making pottery with figures in relief, (commonly called "Samian") illustrated by a cast of one in plaster-of-Paris:—

"Moulds for making pottery with figures in relief have been found near Wiesbaden, among other Roman remains, and are preserved in the museums at Wiesbaden and Bonn. There are some imperfect specimens of such moulds in the British Museum. There are likewise examples of these moulds in the Cabinet of Antiquities in the Imperial Library at Paris, and fragments are preserved in the Museum of fictile wares at Sèvres.⁵

"On the subject of the fabrication of richly ornamented bowls of earthenware by Roman or Romano-British potters, I know no better account than the following, which occurs in Mr. Roach Smith's Catalogue of his own Museum, p. 24.

"Those (bowls) which are embossed have been formed in moulds, but in some cases the ornaments have been partly stamped subsequently. There is also a rare variety of this pottery of very superior execution, the ornaments of which have been separately moulded and then applied to the vases. See *Archæologia*, vol. xxvii.; *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, vol. iv.; and *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. i.'

"The moulds found near Wiesbaden appeared to me so curious and interesting, on account of the information which they give respecting the art of pottery as practised in ancient times, that I obtained a facsimile in plaster of that which is preserved at Bonn. It is the same which is mentioned at p. 137 of Professor Overbeck's Catalogue of the Museum of Antiquities in that city. In this mould we observe a representation of seven semi-circular arches supported on columns. Under each arch is the figure of a boy or a sheep, and the figure of a bird appears in three of the spandrels between the arches. The border of the vessel above the arches is formed by a repetition of one of the usual ornaments derived from the Greek Ionic architecture. On comparing the figures upon this mould, it will be perceived that they were all formed by impressing upon the soft clay types of the boy, the sheep, the bird, and the architectural ornaments; for they are manifestly repetitions of the same figures, and it is a very interesting

⁵ See Brongniart, *Traité des Arts Céramiques*, tome i. p. 423; Atlas, pl. xxx.

circumstance that an original type for impressing the same ornament is preserved in the British Museum.

"I hope I shall not be thought to have wandered too far from the immediate object of this communication, if I offer a conjecture on the source of the material used for making the beautiful bowls which were fashioned in these moulds. The substance of the so-called Samian ware is so fine and homogeneous, that the question has often been suggested, whence did the ancients obtain clay for making their pottery? The solution of the question may, I think, be found by referring to the method now used in this country to obtain clay for the fine earthenware made in Staffordshire and Worcestershire. It is obtained from the decomposed granite of Cornwall. By agitating the granite in large vessels filled with water, which overflows at the top, the finer particles are carried off, and at length sink to the bottom of the water. The deposit is then dried, packed in barrels, and sent to the potteries for use. Let us suppose the ancients to have used a similar process with common red clay, or brick-earth. Bricks, tiles, and pipes would be made from it without further preparation. The very same earth, after going through the process I have mentioned, would furnish the material for the finest ornamental bowls and vases."

Mr. E. W. GODWIN communicated a detailed account of Dudley Castle, illustrated by plans and numerous drawings.

The Hon. W. FOX STRANGWAYS brought before the Society a communication addressed to him by M. Karl Bernhardt, of Cassel, relating to St. Boniface, and the other early missionaries from Britain, by whom Christianity was introduced into Germany. St. Boniface was born at Crediton, Devonshire, about A.D. 680, and he received a commission from Pope Gregory II., in 719, to preach the faith in Germany. M. Bernhardt stated that he is engaged in a detailed investigation, with the hope of discovering, more especially at Fulda, materials in illustration of the history of that period. It is affirmed that much valuable matter still remains unpublished. He has also devoted much attention to the local dialects of Germany, of which he has produced a general scheme, in anticipation of a more complete work, in which he hopes for the concurrent aid of philologists in all parts of that country. He suggested the important assistance which might be derived from a similar work on the various provincial dialects of our own country. The Philological Society had formerly encouraged the hope that so desirable an undertaking might be carried out under their auspices.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. BRACKSTONE.—An arrow or javelin head of flint, with barbs. An oblong implement of flint, highly polished, precisely similar to that exhibited at a previous meeting by Mr. Bernhard Smith, and figured in this Journal, vol. xi., p. 414. The dimensions are almost identical, and one face is in both instances rather less convex than the other. They may have served for flaying animals. The specimen in Mr. Brackstone's collection, as also the arrow-head, was found in July, 1848, on the farm of Mr. Pumphrey, at Pick Rudge, in the parish of Overton, Wilts, in grubbing up an old ash-tree on a piece of waste land.—An iron spear or javelin, of peculiar form, described as found in Blenheim Park, July, 1854. The entire length is 18 in., of which the blade forms $5\frac{1}{4}$ in., the remainder being a round stem

or shaft, about $\frac{3}{10}$ in. in diameter, terminating in a sort of tang for insertion into the haft.

By the Rev. T. HUGO.—A bronze statuette of young Hercules, with the skin of the Nemean lion thrown over his arm. Described as found at the junction of Cannon-street with St. Paul's Churchyard.

By Professor BUCKMAN.—Various Roman reliques, found during excavations at Cirencester, comprising implements and objects of bronze, iron, and bone, amongst which is a singular knife of iron, with the handle formed of jet, and a bronze clasp knife, in form of an hare pursued by an hound. Also, a numerous collection of potters' marks on "Samian" ware, found at Corinium, and some marks on Roman tiles. The former comprised the following:—AVENTINI.—AESIMM—BORILLI OFF—CINIV—CVCA . . IM (query? *Cucali manu*) CINIIVGENI—GEMINI F—MACR . . .—MARCH—MYXTVLLI—NICEPHOR F—OF MYRRA—OF NAHSI—PATRICI—PECVLIAR. F—PRISCVS—.PVTRI M.—QVINTI—SAMOCINI—TITVRONIS OF—VINPVVS (or *Vinpus*?) and several imperfect marks. On a fragment, apparently of a flue-tile, are the letters—TPFA, and on a flanged tile—ARVERI.

By Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN, M.P.—A *viatorium*, or portable sun-dial, of the close of the sixteenth or earlier part of the seventeenth century. It is remarkable as comprising a sun-dial, night-dial, compass, perpetual calendar, a microscope or telescope, and a diminutive weathercock, serving to indicate what the weather should be when the wind is in a certain quarter. Several quarries of lead cast in moulds, and formed with ornamental pierced work; they served for ventilation, being introduced in place of quarries of glass in a casement. They were obtained at Ely.

By Mr. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH.—A dagger with a flamboyant blade. Date about the time of James I.

Mr. EDWARD FREEMAN communicated, through the kind permission of John Vizard, Esq., of Dursley, a collection of documents belonging to that gentleman. We are indebted to Mr. W. S. Walford for the following abstracts:—

1. Grant by William de Ferariis, Earl of Derby (undated, *circa* 1200).

William de Ferariis, Earl of Derby, gave, granted, and confirmed to Henry Fitz-William of Spondon, for his homage and service, and to his assigns and their heirs, except religious houses, his mill of Spondon upon Derewent¹ with the mill upon the *sluice* (?)² of Chadesden with the sites, and all their appurtenances and liberties, and with all their suit grinding their corn, and with carriage of material to repair the mill and pool, and with the labor of his men of Spondon and Chadesden for making and repairing the mill and pool as they ought to do, and as in the time of his ancestors they were accustomed to do; To hold of him and his heirs, in feo and inheritance, to the said Henry and his assigns and their heirs freely and quietly; Rendering for the same yearly five mares of silver, and three salmons, and three sticks of eels during Lent, for all service and exaction. Warranty of the premises, and the fishing in the said pool and mill, against all persons. And that he and his heirs would find timber to make the said mill and pool, and to repair the same, in his wood of Spondon or in his forest of Duffield. For which grant and confirmation the said Henry had given him 20 mares of silver. Witnesses, Robert de Ferariis the Earl's brother, Herbert de

¹ Spondon and Chaddesden are parishes situate on the north side of the river

Derwent, near Derby, east of that town.
² *Clucum*! for *clusum*, i.e. *exclusum*.

Mekle, William de Redewar then steward, Jordan de Tok', William de Seant', Henry de Ferariis, and William de Codintun, Philip de Tok', and many others.

Seal of white wax much broken, pendent by a braided cord of white and green silk. Obv., a mounted knight : counter-seal, an antique intaglio with the legend—✠ S. WILLELMI COMITIS DERBEIE.

2. Grant by Henry III. of the custody of the Castle and County of Northampton and other counties (16 Hen. III. 1232).

Henry, by the Grace of God, King of England, &c., granted and confirmed to Stephen de Sedgrave the custody of the castle of Northampton, and of the counties of Northampton, Bedford, Bucks, Warwick, and Leicester ; To hold for his life ; and that he should have all the profit of those counties for the custody of the said castle and counties, and to maintain himself in his service, so that the said Stephen should out of the said counties render to the King's Exchequer the ancient rents and increase which were accustomed to be rendered for the same in the time of King Henry, his grandfather ; Retaining in the King's hands 15 pounds yearly out of the manor of Thorp, extra Northampton, which the constables of the said castle were accustomed to receive out of the same manor since the war between King John and his Barons. Witnesses, Peter Bishop of Winton, and H. Bishop of Ely, H. de Burgh Earl of Kent, Justiciary of England and Ireland, R. Earl of Poitou and Cornwall the King's brother, R. Earl of Chester and Lincoln, R. Marshal Earl of Pembroke, Radulph Fitz Nichol, Godfrey de Craucumbe, Hugh Dispenser, Geoffrey his brother, Radulph Mar', William de Rughedone, Henry de Capella, and others. Given by the hand of the Venerable Father R. Bishop of Chichester, the Chancellor, at Woodstock, 28th day of July, in the 16th year of the reign of the King.

Great seal appended, of which a considerable portion remains.

3. Fragment of a grant, the upper portion being missing (10 Edw. II. 1317).

John le Yonge granted and confirmed to Richard [le Yonge] and his heirs, [the same house and lands probably as in the next deed ;³] To hold to the said Richard and his heirs ; Rendering yearly to the chief lords a red rose at the feast of the nativity of St. John the Baptist, for all secular services, exactions, and demands, except royal service and attendance at the view of frankpledge held on Hock-day : Warranty of the premises by John le Yonge to the said Richard against all people. For which grant, confirmation, and warranty the said Richard had given a certain sum of silver. Witnesses, William de Kenegrave, Richard de Gardino, Laurence Cambrey, John de Boxstede, Nicholas Uppedoune, William le Chepman, Robert le Fayre, John Drausper, Henry atte Mulne, Nicholas son of Philip Rolues, freemen (liberis), John de Lynham, clerk, and many others.

Dated at " Olde Sobbury " [Gloucestershire], on Monday next after the feast of the Apostles Philip and James, in the 10th year of the reign of King Edward, son of King Edward.

The seal, which was on a label, is missing.

4. Grant and release (same year).

John le Yonge of Olde Sobbury, son of John le Yonge of the same [place] gave, granted, and quitted claim to Richard le Yonge, son of John

³ The greater part are the same, and most likely all.

le Yonge and his brother, his right and claim in a house called "La Nywehous," and a piece of land for a yard (curtella) within the manor of Olde Sobbury : He also gave, granted, and quitted claim to the said Richard, his brother, his right and claim to 5 acres of land within the said manor : And he also gave, granted, and quitted claim the reversion of an acre of land called "Douneswelles aker," and also of an acre of meadow in "Babenhames mede," which two acres Agatha la Yonge held for her life ; To hold the same to the said Richard le Yonge, his heirs and assigns ; Rendering to the chief lords thereof yearly all services as appeared in charters of feoffment between John le Yonge the father, and the said Richard le Yonge.⁴ Witnesses, William le Cheney, Thomas atte Leygrove, William de Kenegrave, Robert le Fayre, Richard de Gardino, John de Boxstede, Laurence le Cambrey, William le Chepman, John Drausper, Henry atte Mulne, Nicholas son of Philip Rolues, Nicholas Uppedoune, John de Lynham, clerk, and many others. Dated at Olde Sobbury on Sunday next after the feast of the nativity of St. John the Baptist, in the 10th year of the reign of King Edward, son of King Edward.

The seal, which was on a label, is missing.

5. Lease (5 Edw. III. 1331).

Richard le Yonge, of Great Sobbury, granted and demised to Thomas ate Hulle and Matildis his wife three acres of arable land in the fields of Great Sobbury ; To hold to the said Thomas ate Hulle and Matildis his wife for the term of the life of them or the longer liver of them, of the chief Lords of the fee, by the services therefore due and of right accustomed : Warranty against all persons. Witnesses, Jordan Bisshop, John de Berkele, Laurence de Cambrey, Richard de Gardino, John le Fayre, Henry ate Mulle, Reginald de Stanford, and others. Dated at Great Sobbury on Monday next after the feast of the Translation of St. Thomas the Martyr in the 5th year of the reign of King Edward the third.

The seal, which was on a label, is missing.

6. Confirmation (8 Edw. III. 1334).

Richard le Yonge confirmed to Thomas ate Hulle and Matildis his wife six acres of arable land in the fields of Old Sobbury ; To hold of him and his heirs or assigns, to the said Thomas and Matildis so long as they or either of them should live ; Rendering therefore yearly a red rose within the octave of St. John the Baptist for all services : Warranty against all persons. Dated at Great Sobbury on Friday in the feast of St. John the Baptist in the 8th year of the reign of King Edward the third. Witnesses, Laurence Cambrei, Richard atte Orchard, John le Faire, Roger Cambrey, Robert Large, and others.

The seal, which was on a label, is missing.

7. Grant (21 Rich. II. 1397).

Agnes daughter of Stephen Anable granted and confirmed to William atte Brugge the elder all her lands and tenements in the town of Chepyng Sobbury which she had of the gift and feoffment of the said Stephen her father ; To hold to the said William his heirs and assigns for ever, of the chief Lord of the fee, by the services therefore due and of right accustomed : Warranty against all persons. Witnesses, John Godestone, Richard atte Brugge, Thomas Vayre, Thomas Horewode, Henry Hunte, and others.

⁴ In the preceding deed Agatha is called the sister of the John le Yonge there mentioned. Probably that deed was

indented and in two parts, and these are the charters here referred to.

Dated at Chepyng Sobbury on Sunday next after the feast of St. Michael the Archangel in the 21st year of the reign of King Richard the second.

Circular seal broken, $\frac{3}{4}$ inch diameter, on dark wax, suspended by a label. The device appears to have been an escutcheon, charged with a barry coat (?)

Legend,**DE CHAAINES E**....

8. Lease (dated Dec. 21, 4th Henry V., 1416).

Between Nicholas Peres, of Old Sobbury, of the one part, and Richard Adames and Edith his wife of the other part, witnesseth, that the said Nicholas had delivered, granted, and confirmed to the said Richard and Edith all his lands and tenements, except one chamber at his own pleasure to be selected, with free ingress and regress to (and from) the same; To hold the same (except what is before excepted for the life of the said Nicholas), from the feast of St. Michael next after the date, for the term of the life of them [Richard and Edith] and the longer liver of them; rendering therefore yearly to the said Nicholas for his life 33s. and 4d. as there specified, and acquitting the said Nicholas "penes dominum Regem capitalem dominum et quosque alios,"⁵ of all services for the same lands and tenements due, and of right accustomed. Restriction on committing waste by felling timber. Power for the said Nicholas to distrain in case the said rent should be arrear for a month, and if no sufficient distress to re-enter. The said Richard and Edith to find fuel (focale), and ten ewe sheep (oves matrices) annually for the said Nicholas. Power for the said Nicholas to take the timber. Warranty by him. Witnesses, Thomas Nelat, clerk, John Peres, Walter Notte, and others. Dated at Sobbury on Monday in the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle, in the 4th year of the reign of King Henry V.

The seal, which was on a label, is missing.

9. Grant (15 Henry VI., 1436.)

Thomas Brugge, the younger, of Gloucester, and Margery his wife, gave, granted, and confirmed to John Hayward, of Gloucester, "Gent," and John Hareston, clerk, all their lands, and tenements, rents, services, and reversions in the town and borough of Chepingsobbury in the lordship (dominio) of Oldesobbury: To hold to the said John and John Hareston their heirs and assigns, of the chief lords of the fees, by the services therefore due and of right accustomed: Warranty against all persons. Witnesses, Thomas Godestone, Robert Welle, Richard Juelle, Walter Lye, Thomas Vicaries, and many others. Dated at Chepingsobbury the 7th day of October, in the 15th year of the reign of king Henry VI.

There were two seals on labels: the second is missing; the other is on red wax, circular, $\frac{5}{8}$ inch diameter; device, a stag's head caboshed with a sprig on each side.

10. Lease (8 Edward IV., 1468).

After reciting that John Brugge, late of Old Sobbury, by his Will, dated 13th January, 1466, gave to John Tylly and Joan, his wife, the daughter of said John Brugge, three burgages,⁶ with the appurtenances in "Sobbury mercata," which Thomas Gough then held, to hold to the said John and Joan their heirs and assigns, the said John Tylly and Joan his

⁵ "In regard to the lord the king, the chief lord, and every one else;" for so I read *penes*, though this sense of it is new to me. Comp. Mad. Form. Ang., p. 145.

"Tam erga Dominum Regem quam erga capitales dominos."

⁶ Burgage is a tenement in a borough.

wife, delivered, demised, and granted to Agnes, late wife of the said John Brugge, and mother of the said Joan, and to William Bolatre, the said three burgages with the appurtenances; to hold to the said Agnes and William for the life of the said Agnes without impeachment of waste; rendering for the same yearly one red rose at the feast of the nativity of St. John the Baptist, if demanded; of the chief lord and by all other services due, and of right accustomed. Warranty against all persons. Witnesses, William Bolatre then chief bailiff of the borough of Sobbury, John Longeford sub-bailiff, William Burnelle, Robert Roome, Thomas Paynter, and others. Dated at Sobbury the 10th day of August in the 8th year of the reign of king Edward IV.

One seal on a label: device obliterated; never more than one.

11. Grant by John, duke of Norfolk (5 July, 22 Hen. VI., 1444).

John, duke of Norfolk, earl marshal, and of Nottingham, marshal of England, lord of Mowbray, Segrave, and Gower, gave, granted, and confirmed to John, archbishop of Canterbury, Alianor his (the duke's) wife, and Humphry, earl of Stafford, his manor and lordship of Calaghedon with the appurtenances in the county of Warwick;⁷ to hold to them from the feast of the nativity of St. John the Baptist then last for the life of the said Alianor: Warranty against all persons. In testimony whereof, he had caused those letters to be made patent. Given under his seal in his castle of Framlingham, on the 5th day of July, in the 22nd year of the reign of king Henry VI.

Attached by a label is a circular seal, 3½ inches in diameter, on red wax much broken; which bore a shield of the arms of Brotherton, ensigned with a helmet, on which was a chapeau and the Plantagenet crest, between two ostrich feathers,⁸ and flanking the shield on the dexter was an escutcheon chequy for Warrenne: on the sinister had probably been another escutcheon with a lion rampant for Mowbray. A few letters of the legend, in old English minuscules, may be decyphered. This seal is very similar to that engraved in Watson's *History of the Earls Warren*, vol. I., pl. iv., but it is not identical. That seal has a feather on the dexter side only, placed behind an escutcheon chequy. On the sinister side is an escutcheon with a lion rampant. Legend—SIGIL: IOH: MOWB: DVCIS: NORF: CO: MARISC: NOTTING: DNI: DE: MOWBR: SEGR: GOWER:

By the Rev. Dr. OLIVER.—A document bearing the seal of Edward Courtenay, third Earl of Devon, who succeeded his grandfather Hugh in 1377, and died in 1419. An imperfect impression in red wax, of a remarkably fine seal. It bears the arms of Courtenay, the escutcheon placed aslant and surmounted by an helm and crest, the bush of ostrich feathers issuing from a coronet. On either side of the helm is a swan with expanded wings; a small portion only of the legend remains. Diam. 2 inches. Also the seal of Sir Matthew Gornay, in imperfect condition, an example remarkably bold in design; it bears an escutcheon placed aslant (paly of six) surmounted by a helm and crest, a blackamoor's head crowned. The legend broken away. The back-ground is filled up

⁷ There was an embattled mansion, the property of the Segrave family, at Caladon, near Coventry. The site may be traced, but no remains of the building exist. From thence Thomas Mowbray set forth with his attendants, in 1397, to

do battle at Gosford Green with the Duke of Hereford.

⁸ As to these feathers, see Sandford, book iii. c. vii., under Thos. Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk.

with foliage, as if representing a wood. A representation of this remarkable seal may be found accompanying the pedigree of the Gornays of Somerset, in the "Record of the House of Gournay," by Mr. Daniel Gurney, p. 591. The seals above described are appended to a document preserved amongst Sir Walter Carew's evidences at Tiverton Castle, and dated July 31, 17 Rich. II., 1393. Also an oval seal set with apparently an antique intaglio, the head of Mercury, seen full face and of striking design. It is appended to a release by Baldewin de Wayford to Reginald de Moyun, amongst the Carew evidences, and dated at Compton Bassett, Jan., 29 Hen. III., 1245.

By Mr. ALEXANDER NESBITT.—A collection of casts in "fictile ivory," made from carvings in ivory of various dates, preserved in the Cabinet des Antiques in the Bibliothèque Impériale, the museums of the Hôtel de Cluny, of Nismes, and of Amiens, and the collections of Prince Soltikoff, M. Carrand, and M. Sauvageot, of Paris. The most remarkable of these were:—From the collection of Prince Soltikoff, a diptych of Orestes, consul of the East, A.D. 520, very closely resembling that of Clementinus, in the Fejervary collection.

From the Bibliothèque, a diptych of Probus, Consul, A.D. 518. Coarse work, and in bone, but much like the above. Also a triptych of the best period of Byzantine art (12th century?). In the centre, the Crucifixion with figures of St. Mary and St. John, and small figures of St. Helena and Constantine, and on the wings, half-length figures of saints.

From the Hôtel de Cluny, four tablets, each containing two subjects: among which are the Conversion of St. Paul, and the Martyrdoms of St. Lawrence and St. Denis. One side of a mirror-case with figures of lovers in pairs, some worshipping Cupid, who sits crowned and holding arrows in his hands; another, of a less size, with nearly the same subjects somewhat differently treated. These mirror-cases belong to the earlier, the tablets apparently to the latter, part of the 14th century.

From the collection of M. Sauvageot, one side of a very beautiful mirror-case, representing a gentleman and lady playing at chess, and two other persons looking on; it very closely resembles the mirror-case belonging to the Hon. Robert Curzon, engraved in this Journal, vol. viii. Date, about 1320.

From the collection of M. Carrand, a diptych, probably of the earlier part of the 5th century: on the one leaf, Adam naming the beasts; on the other, subjects from the life of St. Paul. The "Flabellum de Tournus," of the 9th century, but parts of which have been supposed to have formed portions of book-covers of a much earlier date. A number of small figures in about half relief, of centaurs, tumblers, players on musical instruments, chiefly of a classical grotesque character, which form parts of a large box; also a singular group of figures, some of them mounted, possibly a chess piece (12th century?). Three draught pieces in walrus ivory, one, a figure with long hair, bound and lying on the ground, and three figures armed with swords and kite-shaped shields standing over him; on another, a hunter mounted on a hare and blowing a horn; and on the third, Dalilah cutting off Samson's hair; all three seem to belong to the 11th or 12th centuries. The hilt of a dagger with figures of mounted warriors, probably German work of the 14th century; the two sides of a mirror-case, each with a combat of knights on horseback, the one with swords, and the other with lances; one side of a mirror-case with a very curious representation of

knights arming for a tournament ; also one side of a large mirror-case representing the attack and defence of the Castle of Love ; at the top is Love himself, crowned and with wings, and about to discharge an arrow ; below him, ladies pelting the besiegers with roses, while at the bottom are knights encountering each other with swords, &c. All these mirror-cases are of the 14th century ; that with the preparation for the tournament is the latest in date, and evidently of German work.

From the Museum at Nismes, a group of two persons in half relief on a larger scale, and of coarser execution than usually occurs in ivory ; it appears to have formed a part of a reredos or retable. Date, 15th century.

From the Museum at Amiens, a tablet representing three subjects from the life of St. Remi, one of them being the baptism of Clovis. Probably of the 10th century.

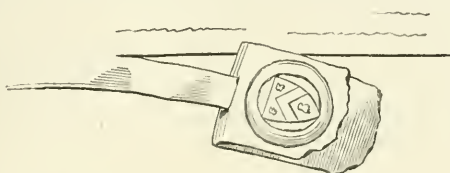
By Mr. A. W. FRANKS.—An astrolabe of brass made by Humfrey Cole in 1574. In the *matrix* is engraved “A.D. (blank) Henr. Princ. Magn. Brittan.” There are projections of the sphere for four latitudes, all in England. They are, 51, 30—52, 30 (Ludlow) 53, 40—55, 00 (Newcastle, or Carlisle), and one plate unengraved. The *Alidad* is ingeniously jointed so as to do away with the usual pin. The case is of green velvet ornamented with silver plates with inscriptions ; on the centre of the cover is an oval plate with the prince’s feathers in a coronet formed with crosses and fleur-de-lys alternately, and the letters H. P. From this it appears to have belonged to Henry, Prince of Wales, son of James I. On the plates of the hinges are engraved the words, “Inter Omnes ;” and on bosses on the top of the case, “Scientia Virtus que Autoritas—fœlicitas Illius creseāt in eternum.” This interesting relique has been recently added to the valuable collection of astrolabes preserved in the British Museum. A set of Apostle spoons of English workmanship, made in the year 1519. They were in the Bernal collection, and are now the property of the Rev. Thomas Staniforth, of Storrs Hall, Windermere.

Mr. Franks brought also a document from the collections in possession of Mr. W. Maskell, being a certificate by a captive knight, Humfrey Nanfaunt, that money had been paid towards his redemption, and for the purchase of the benefits of a Papal Indulgence. It is as follows :—

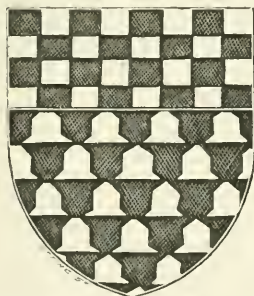
Humfridus Nanfaunt miles, captivus inter Tureos inimicos Jhesu Christi, et inter eosdem pro fide ejusdem Christi ad financiam immensam positus, dilectis in Christo Johanni Bateock et Alicie uxori ejus, ac Elene Bateock, Salutem. Sanctissimus in Christo pater et dominus noster, dominus Sixtus Papa modernus, per suas litteras apostolicas quedam specialia pro relevacione men meorumque obsidum diris vinculis incarcerationum ereptione glorioso indulsit, continencie sequentis. Omnibus illis, eibi ut prefertur caritatis intuitu subvenientibus cum aliqua quantitate bonorum suorum quorumcunque, vere penitentibus et confessis, omnium peccatorum suorum plenarium remissionem auctoritate sedis apostolice et presentium litterarum tenore concedimus, voto Ierosolomitano et debitis de jure secundum eorum posse persolvendis duntaxat exceptis. Eciam volumus et constituimus quod predicti penitentes, quociens opus fuerit, licencia suorum curatorum obtenta et benigne concessa, eligant sibi ydoneos confessores seculares vel regulares, qui, auditis eorum confessionibus, eos ab omnibus eorum peccatorum, exceptis preexceptis, plenarie absolvere valeant. Ego que Humfridus Nanfaunt miles, vestre devocionis considerans effectum, fateor me vestram recipisse elimo-

sinam, et hoc vestro confessore per vos auctoritate apostolica electo per presens scriptum certifico. Data anno domini millesima cccc^{mo}. lxx^{mo}. octavo.

A seal on paper over red wax, the paper passing round to, and covering also the back of, the wax, where it remains almost square in form, is attached to a slip cut half-way along the bottom of the parchment. It bears an escutcheon, on which is a chevron ensigned with a cross (?) between three human heads (? heads of children, *enfants*) looking sinister in hoods of mail, or helmets.¹ Of the legend the name NANFAN only remains.



By Mr. ALBERT WAY.—Impressions from a “palimpsest” brass escutcheon, found, in a very decayed condition, amongst rubbish in the churchyard at Betelworth, Surrey. It may have been part of a sepulchral memorial in that church, but no slab can at present be found to which it may have been attached. The two faces of this plate are here represented. The more ancient, possibly engraved about the commencement of the XVth century, presents a “merchant’s mark,” composed of the letter H., terminating at top in two streamers, which cross so as to resemble a W. (Compare marks in Norfolk Archæology, vol. iii. pl. vii. fig. 26, pl. ix, fig. 21, pl. x. figs. 2, 28.) The up-stroke is traversed by a bar terminating in a cross at one end, and at the other in a symbol of frequent occurrence in these marks, which bears resemblance to the Arabic numeral 2. Mr. Ewing has given several examples in his collection of Norwich Merchants’ Marks, in the Transactions of the Norfolk Archæological Society, already



cited. In default of precise information regarding the origin and import of these devices, the suggestion may not be undeserving of notice that numerals appear occasionally to be combined with the initials and capricious symbols of which they are composed. In many marks there occurs a

¹ Nanfan, of Trethewell, Cornwall, extinct in the reign of Henry VII., bore, *Sa.* a chevron, *erm.* between three wings,

arg. Another bearing was, a chevron between three gem-rings.

symbol closely resembling the numeral 4. The cross-bar of a mark on a gold ring communicated to the Institute by Mr. Sully, of Nottingham, bears at one end a 2, and at the other the Arabic *siphos* or O traversed by the customary line across, in imitation, probably, of the Greek Theta, for which the character seems to have been intended.² Other examples occur amongst the numerous Merchants' Marks obtained by Mr. Ready from seals in the Collegiate Treasuries at Cambridge.³ A remarkable similarity appears between the capricious charges in



Polish heraldry and the singular symbols known as Merchants' Marks. Menestrier has figured many such Polish coats in his *Art du Blason*, (*Pratique des Armoiries*, p. 335.) The obverse of the escutcheon found at Betchworth presents the bearing of the Fitz-Adrians, who held the manor of Brockham in the parish of Betchworth, under the Warrens. In the visitation of Surrey by Clarenceux, *t.* Henry VIII. (Harl. MS. 1561, p. 3), the arms of Adryan, Lord of Brockham, are given thus—*Arg.* two bars nebuly *sa.*, a chief chequy *or* and *ar.* The chief was doubtless derived from the Warrens, whose feudal tenants, the Fitz-Adrians, or Adryans, appear to have been. The fashion of the escutcheon here represented, however, is of much later date than the time when the male line of the Adrians failed, according to the statement in Manning and Bray's *History of Surrey*, vol. ii. pp. 209, 211, namely, between 1356 and 1378, when Thomas Frowick, who married the heiress, succeeded them. The south side of the chancel at Betchworth has belonged from time immemorial to the manor of Brockham, and the plate may have been one of several coats affixed to some memorial of the Frowicks, there interred.

By Mr. W. W. E. WYNNE, M.P.—Several valuable MSS., formerly in the possession of Sir Kenelm Digby. They consist of a finely illuminated volume, bound in red velvet, with brass bosses: on the cover is this title, enclosed under a piece of horn:—"Catons versis in Englische and the stories of Alexander and of ye iij. kinges of Colon in latinge writyn on perchmint and illumned." The "*Liber Catonis*" has five vignette illuminations: the "*Historia Alexandri*" has a page illumination of two compartments, and twenty-four vignettes. On a fly-leaf at the beginning of the book is written,—

None are happy till ye End ;
 Proceede therefore as you begin.
 Accept this Book of thy trew frende,
 So to thy father I have bin.—Jhon Cutts.

On the first page is writtten,—"*Chi Semma virtu Reacoglie fama—q'd Thomas Gaudy.*"

A folio MS., XVth century, on vellum, bound in red velvet. It contains the *History of the Passion of our Lord*, translated from Latin into French by Jehan Jarssor, Doct. in Theol. It has thirty-four full pages of illuminations. On the title appears a king receiving a book. The arms of England occur in the border, and in other borders or initial letters are introduced the red dragon; the white rose *en soleil*; red and white rose *en soleil*; demi-rose with rays issuing below it; red rose, and the portcullis. Also, the following coats of arms:—Beaufort;—*Az.* a double-headed eagle displayed

² See Mr. Wright's *Memoirs on the Abacus and Arabic Numerals*, *Journal Arch. Ass.*, vol. ii., pp. 64, 156.

³ Impressions may be procured from Mr. R. Ready, 2, St. Botolph's Lane, Cambridge.

or, over all a bendlet *sa*;—*Az.* on a fesse *gu.* between three foxes or wolves *arg.* as many roses *arg.* seeded *or.* And the mottoes—"entre tenir dieu le veuille;" "entre tenir, entre tenir." Branches of red rose often occur in the borders. On a fly-leaf at the beginning is written,—“Jamys beamonntt.” The following occur also on the fly-leaves:

“Thys ys master Jhon farmer buke and all hys frendes.”

“Thys is Syr John ffermers boke of Esteneston, of the Gyfte of Thomas lord Vaux.”

At the end of the book—“goode madame when yt you thys do fynde Forgett not me tho I come behynde.—Your louying nephew Thomas harowdon.”

“Yor humble sone Henry Guldeford.”

“Yor humble cousin Will^m Penizon.” (?)

“My lord I pray you of cherete remember me your pouer wyff—Elizabeth”

“George throckmorton.”

“Mychaell poiltene.”⁴

“By my Anne ffermor.—by me Katheryne fermor.—by me Mary ffarmar.—Katheryne fermor.”

“James Stewarde the iij. sonne of Duke Mordor rebellyng against Kynge James in Scotland was chased into Ireland.”

Also, a monogram composed of the letters *WAVS*.—“Lord Vaus—En se me confier—Vaus.”

Thomas, second baron Vaux of Harrowden, succeeded in 1523, and this beautiful volume appears to have been presented by him to Sir John Fermor, of Eston, Northamptonshire, who married Maud, one of his sisters.

Mr. Wynne produced also Sir Kenelm Digby's Journal, during the period when he was admiral of the fleet in the Mediterranean in 1629; and a MS. account of the descents of the Digbys, the Pereys and the Stanleys. This had sometimes been regarded as written by Ben Jonson. These valuable MSS. appear to have passed into Mr. Wynne's possession through the marriage of his great grandfather, Richard Williams, brother of Sir W. Williams Wynn, the third Bart., with the daughter and heiress of Richard Mostyn, of Penbedw, Denbighshire, who married the grand-daughter and coheiress of Sir Kenelm Digby.

By Mr. ROLLS.—A fine illuminated Service Book, an example of French art, XIVth century. It has the original stamped leather binding in perfect preservation, with an enamelled escutcheon on the clasp, doubtless the arms of the original possessor (three pair of shears and a label). The name of the binder is impressed upon the cover—“liumus (?) stundert me ligavit.” This remarkable volume had been purchased some years since at Brussels. Mr. Rolls exhibited also several Italian medals, and a large medal of Louis XII., king of France, and his queen, Anne of Brittany.

By Mr. JOHNSON.—Two rapiers, of beautiful workmanship, also a dagger with a shell-shaped guard, found at Taormina in Sicily, in the Theatre. A spanner for a wheel-lock gun, and a steel mount or frame-work for a pouch; both are elaborately chased, and choice examples of metal work. XVIth century. A morion of the same period, from Venice. A steel étui and a sheath for scissors, delicately engraved, similar in fashion to that figured in this Journal, vol ii., p. 392, and of the same date.

⁴ Pulteney, Margaret, sister of Thomas Lord Vaux, named Francis Pulteney.

By Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN, M.P.—A portrait of Seifried Pfinzing von Henfenfeld, delicately modelled in wax. Date, 1596. The Pfinzing family were citizens of Nuremberg.—A steel candlestick for burning rush-candles, from the Bernal Collection.—A sea nymph holding a shell, an example of the bright blue-glazed ware, supposed to have been manufactured at Nevers.—A singular object of Italian earthenware, possibly intended to serve as an inkstand. It bears an esutcheon of the arms of Lorraine and Medici.

By Mr. HAWKINS.—A steel key, of elaborate work, which appears, by the arms introduced amongst the chased ornaments, to have belonged to Charles Honoré d'Albret, Duc de Luynes. He succeeded in 1688.

Several photographs were presented to the Institute by Captain Oakes, representing subjects of Archæological interest ;—two views of the recent discoveries at Chertsey Abbey, the interments in stone coffins, pavement tiles, and other remains there brought to light ;—views of Ely Cathedral, Whitby Abbey, the Priory gate at Kenilworth, and of Kenilworth Castle.

Mediæval Seals and Impressions from Seals.—By the Rev. J. CLUTTERBUCK.—Impression from a small round seal lately found near Long Wittenham, Berks. The device is that found on love-seals of the same age (XIVth century), namely two heads respectant, a branch between them. The legend usually reads * LOVE ME AND I THEE. In this instance the device is precisely the same as on one of these amatory seals, found at Lewes, of which an impression was received from Mr. Figg. It here, however, represents the Annunciation, the legend being AVE MARIA. A matrix similar in all respects is in the Collection of the Hon. R. Neville.

By Mr. POLLARD.—A small silver seal found in 1808 in the grounds of the Observatory at Oxford. The device is a squirrel,⁵ with the inscription, I CRAKE NOTIS. Date, XIVth century. A matrix bearing this device and inscription, found at Romsey, is figured *Gent. Mag.* vol. 95, ii. p. 498. An impression from a similar seal is represented in Cartwright's *Hundred of Bramber*, p. 71 ; it is appended to a document dated 1455. Impression from a brass matrix of a seal of the Cistercian Abbey of Hayles, Gloucestershire, found in 1821, in a field called Low Garth, near Langrick, on the Ouse, at a short distance from Drax Abbey, in the neighbourhood of Selby, Yorkshire.⁶ It represents a monk holding in his right hand an *ampulla* surmounted by a cross, and in the other hand a torch (?) This figure is described in the last edition of Dugdale's *Monasticon* (vol. v., p. 687) as holding a globe surmounted by a cross, and a sceptre ; it is supposed to represent Richard, Earl of Cornwall, king of the Romans, the founder of Hayles Abbey. It appears, however, more probable that the globe is a vessel containing the relique of the holy blood of Hayles, given to the monastery by the founder in 1295, and described as "*cruceem auream cum pede de aumail.*" The inscription is as follows :—*Sigillu fraternit' monasterii beate marie de hayles.* This matrix was in the possession of the late Mr. Gleadow, of Hull. Date XVth century. It has sometimes been regarded as the seal of Hales Owen Abbey, Shropshire, and is figured as such in Mr. Farmer Dukes' edition of Lloyd's *Antiquities of Shropshire*, p. 250. A representation of this seal is also given in Mr. Blaauw's *History of the "Barons' War,"* p. 313, where some notice of the relique may be found.

⁵ The squirrel was a favourite device on seals of the XIVth and the XVth centuries. On a matrix found at Dunwich the squirrel

sits on a bough, the inscription being—*HERE I TAKE MI METE.*

⁶ See a notice of the discovery of this seal, *Gent. Mag.* vol. 92, i. p. 545.

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

REMAINS OF PAGAN SAXONDOM, principally from Tumuli in England. Drawn from the originals. Described and illustrated by JOHN YONGE AKERMAN, Fellow and Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of London. London : J. Russell Smith. 1852—5. 4to.

It is not many years since archaeological pursuits were looked upon as a sort of innocent trifling, very fit to be indulged in by gentlemen with more money than wit, or clergymen not overburthened with rural duty. If they did no good, they did at least no harm, and they amused him that followed them, and those that laughed at him. Collections of curiosities, as they were called, were considered as a sort of inferior collection of articles of *virtu*, which only proved their owners not to possess the refined taste of cognoscenti in Greek or Etruscan remains. Slowly however, and by degrees, the truth became acknowledged, that these curiosities were historical records, dating from periods too, of which no other record was to be found ; and with the recognition of this truth, archaeology began to assume the proportions of a science. It was clear enough that we knew a good deal more about the Greeks when we read what Otfried Müller wrung from their urns and bas-reliefs, than when we continued on the beaten track of word-grinding with grim old Godfrey Hermann. And so it was thought we might turn our own archaeological treasures to account, and see if they too had not a tale to tell, which was not written elsewhere. But from that moment it was also necessary to collect, in a very different manner from what had prevailed, and to look for answers to questions which heretofore no one had thought of putting. Dryasdust was, in fact, discovered to be a dull dog, who had fairly earned all the quizzing his aimless pains had brought upon him. If he was thanked at all, it was for having, by a useful but unconscious instinct, preserved here and there trifles from destruction, which more thinking men could now compare and combine, and use for definite objects.

Comparison and combination—these were the two levers by which the inert mass of facts was to be moved. Induction was here also to claim its rights, and observations to take place of crude *à priori* conclusions. And so we have at last a sound footing, and can look back upon and count our gains. What is perhaps more valuable still, we know by what process we can continue to advance. If we know that much remains to be done, we have at least learnt *how* to do it. We must compare and combine facts, real, definite, and not imaginary, facts : we must note resemblances and differences, and apply to archaeology something of the principle which guides us in comparative anatomy.

It is this which gives their value to such books as Mr. Akerman's, and on this account we look upon his work as a boon to the English archaeologist. He brings together, from a great number of different quarters, objects whose full interest can only be duly appreciated when they are

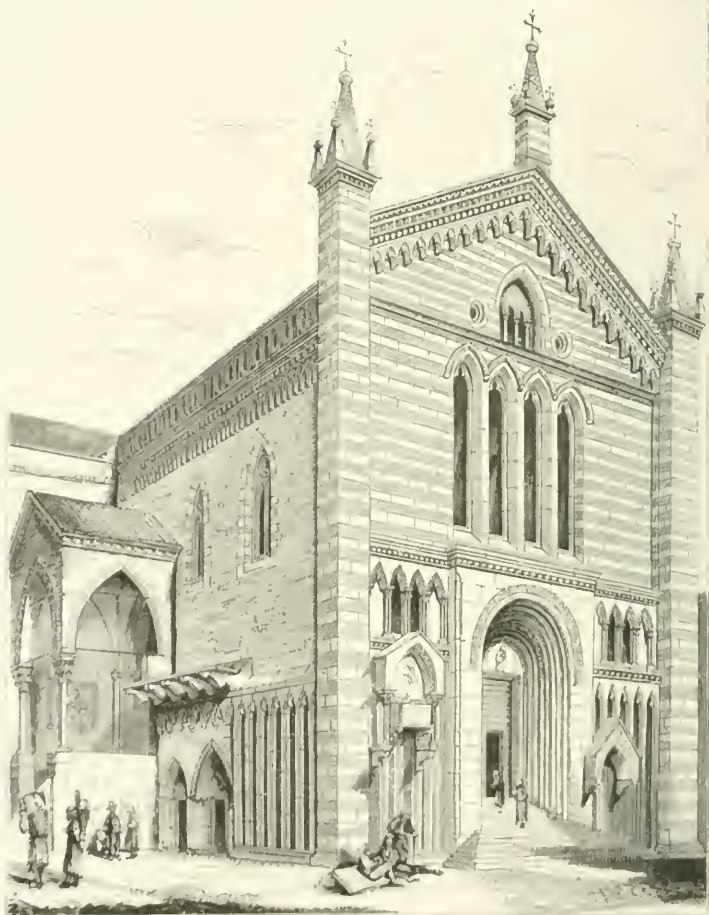
compared and studied together, as they may be in his pages. They are executed mostly in the natural size, and with the natural colours; are, as far as we have had the means of judging, scrupulously accurate in point of resemblance, to the originals; and the selection is such, as not only to be of service in a scientific view, but also to present a very interesting and ornamental representation of the household implements and jewellery of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers. The book is not less a graceful adornment of a boudoir-table, than a work which the student will consult with advantage and satisfaction. It is natural that the objects drawn should be of a kind attractive from their form and the purpose they were intended to serve. A large proportion of them are articles of dress, mostly, in all probability, female dress—necklaces, fibulæ, and the like; and these are properly selected because in them we can best observe the state and progress of the arts, which are a key to the social condition of a people. Thus, in these plates we have figures of sixty-three circular or cruciform fibulæ from different parts of England, many of which display an astonishing familiarity with the secrets of the lapidary's and goldsmith's art, and which might advantageously be adopted as models for brooches at the present day. There are no less than eight representations of glass drinking vessels, one of which is of such peculiar quality and form, that a most competent authority (not knowing that it was derived from a Saxon interment) pronounced it to be Venetian, and *cinqe cento*. We have necklaces of gold and precious stones, clasps and buckles of beautiful execution, and a variety of articles of the toilet, including several richly ornamented hair-combs. One or two plates are devoted to the representation of weapons, which are on a reduced scale.

The reader will easily judge, from this sketch, how much the work contains both to instruct and interest. Every plate is accompanied with as much letterpress as suffices to give an accurate account of the locality wherein, and (as far as possible) the circumstances under which, the articles represented were found; and this is obviously the most important part of the work; for, without these details, the most exquisite of curiosities that Dryasdust or Jonathan Oldbuck ever looked up from his neighbours, is a *curiosity*, and nothing more: with them, it may help us to read a very interesting chapter in the unwritten history of men.

Mr. Akerman has prefixed to his work a short introduction, written in a very just and sound spirit, and which will be read with pleasure and interest even by the *layman*, with profit even by the professed antiquary. He enters in it upon some account of the forms and modes of mortuary deposit among the Anglo-Saxons, noticing the coincidences and distinctions observed in graves in different parts of England. Thus he is led to speak of inhumation and cremation; of the deposit of arms and ornaments with the dead; of the use of coffins, or of funeral urns. And, bearing in view the universal connection between funeral ceremonies and religion, he adds a few judicious pages on the Saxon mythology.

We fear that there is not a large public demand for works of this nature, and in too many cases the pleasure of the labour must be its own reward. We cannot, however, conclude without expressing a hope that a work so admirably executed as this may find a wider class of readers, and that its beauty may recommend it even to those for whom its scientific character has perhaps fewer attractions.

J. M. KEMBLE.



I CHURCH OF S. FERMO MAGGIORE, AT VERONA.

(View of the West End.)

BRICK AND MARBLE IN THE MIDDLE AGES; Notes of a Tour in the North of Italy. By GEORGE EDMUND STREET, Architect, F.S.A., Copiously Illustrated. London: John Murray. 1855. 8vo.

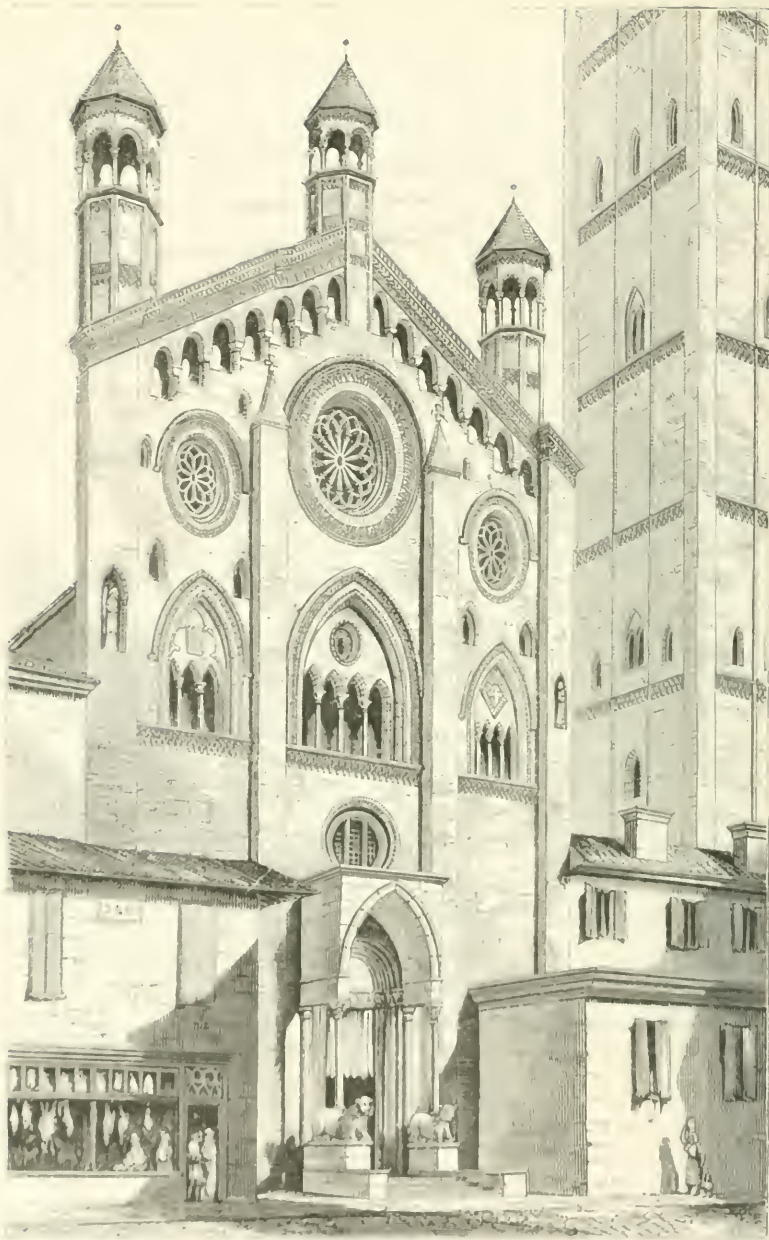
WE feel sure that those of our readers who may not as yet have met with this elegant and agreeable volume, will feel that a service has been done to them by its having been brought under their notice, for although Mr. Street's examination of the architecture of Lombardy and the Venetian States, was undertaken with artistic and practical views, and not in order to carry out antiquarian or historical investigations, much information highly interesting to all architectural antiquaries will be found in it.

We have the high authority of Professor Willis for the assertion that, the neglect of Italian Gothic architecture is an "undeserved neglect," and it will, we think, be readily seen, that in addition to the fact that the study of this variety of Gothic architecture is calculated, as he has so ably shown,¹ to throw much light on the principles of Gothic architecture in general; there are many reasons why it is deserving of more attention, both from architects and from archaeologists, than it has hitherto received: to the architect it very frequently presents novel, ingenious, and beautiful combinations and details usually of most perfect execution, and sometimes of the greatest beauty, while to the archaeologist an accurate knowledge of the architecture (that, as Sismondi has said, "of all the fine arts which bears the most immediately the impress of the character of its age") of Italy in the 13th and 14th centuries can never seem unimportant, especially when he remembers that at that time Italy was the most advanced of European nations in letters, in the fine arts, in the arts of manufacture and in commerce; that this was the period of Dante, of Giotto, and of the Pisani.

Although Mr. Gally Knight's splendid folios, Professor Willis's acute and systematic treatise, and Mr. Ruskin's publications, unequalled as they are in scrupulous fidelity of representation, have done much to place the means of acquiring such knowledge within the reach of the English reader, there is still ample room for more detailed information, and Mr. Street's work is welcome as supplying this so far as Lombardy and the Venetian States are concerned. In pursuing his object, which, as he informs us in his preface, is "mainly to show the peculiarities of the development of Pointed architecture in Italy, and specially to show in what way the materials so commonly used there, brick and marble, were introduced both in decoration and in construction," he has, in the well-chosen and admirably executed illustrations, more than 70 in number, which the volume contains, and in the intelligent and instructive comments and criticisms which accompany them, given us the means of making ourselves acquainted with many little-known, but very interesting buildings, and a great variety of beautiful detail. We have availed ourselves of the liberality of the publisher to place before our readers a few of the illustrations, and we have endeavoured so to select them as to give some idea of the variety and novelty of matter which the reader will find in the volume itself.

The west front of the Church of St. Fermo Maggiore at Verona (see cut, No. I), which, according to Professor Willis, probably dates from about 1313, is a very characteristic specimen of its period and country, particularly as regards the alternate bands of "red brick and warm-coloured stone," and the hoods over the tombs affixed to it; such, also, is the north

¹ In the Introduction to the "Remarks on the Architecture of the Middle Ages, especially of Italy," 1855.



II. NORTH TRANSEPT OF THE CATHEDRAL AT CREMONA.

porch, on which Mr. Street bestows the qualified praise that it "is very fine of its kind." The disproportion between the slenderness of the shafts and the mass they support, and the faulty construction which requires the aid of connecting bars of iron, are no doubt the defects which prevent so great an admirer of the Italian fashion of constantly using bearing-shafts from bestowing warmer commendation upon this, the ever-recurring form of porch in Italian churches.

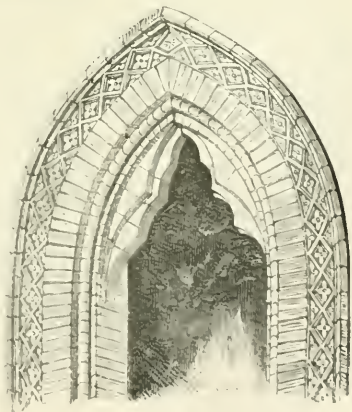
In this instance it will be seen, that although brick is pretty largely used, all the ornamental detail is executed in stone or marble. In the north transept of the Cathedral of Cremona (see cut, No. II), we have an example in which nothing but brick is used, either for walling or for decoration, excepting in the doorway and its porch. Mr. Street comments upon this and the south transept as follows: "The rest of the interior of the duomo is all of brick, and it boasts of two transept-fronts, which are certainly most remarkable and magnificent in their detail, though most unreal and preposterous as wholes; they are, both of them, vast sham fronts, like the west front, in that they entirely conceal the structure of the church behind them, and pierced with numbers of windows which from the very first must have been built but to be blocked up. These fronts have absolutely nothing to do with the buildings against which they are placed, and in themselves, irrespective of this very grave fault, are, I think, positively ugly in their outline and mass. And yet there is a breadth and a grandeur of scale about them which goes far to redeem their faults, and a beauty about much of their detail which I cannot but admire extremely. Both transepts are almost entirely built of brick, and very similar in their general idea, but whilst only the round arch is used in the south transept, nothing but the pointed arch is used in the northern." . . . "The date of the work is, in all probability, somewhere about the middle of the 14th century." . . . "The tracery of the rose windows is all finished in brick."

The windows are instructive examples of the treatment of the material for such purposes (see cuts, Nos. III. and V.), and other very beautiful examples are afforded by the windows in the campanile of St. Andrea, Mantua (see cuts, Nos. IV. and VI.).

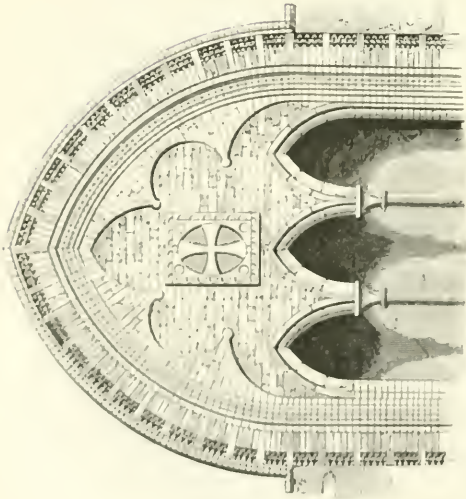
In the cities of Upper Italy, the town-halls (Broletto or Palazzo Publico)



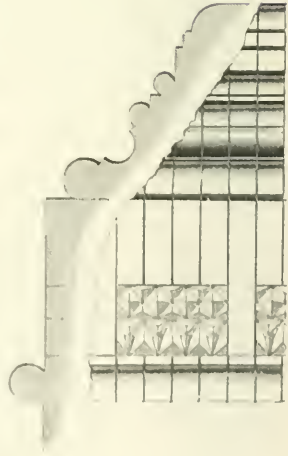
III. Brick window, Cremona Cathedral.



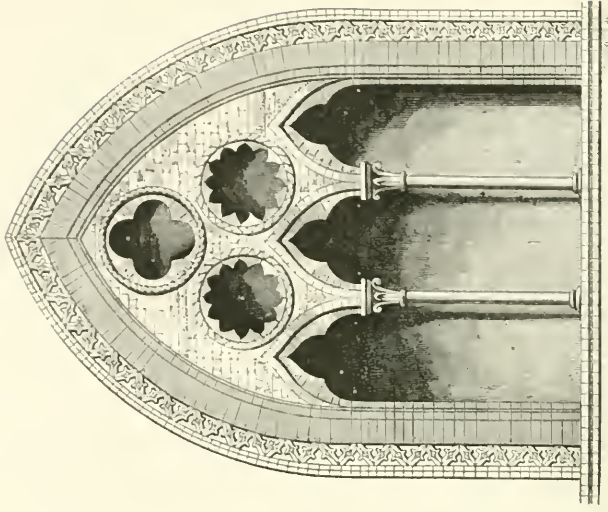
IV. Brick window, Church of S. Andrea, Mantua.



V. Window in the North transept, Cremona Cathedral.



Detail of window-jamb, Cremona.



VI. Brick window, Church of S. Andrea, Mantua.



VII. THE BROLETTO AT MONZA.

(View of the Southern end.

form a class of edifices of the greatest interest, both in an historical and an architectural point of view. The Italian school of Gothic architecture appears perhaps to greater advantage in these buildings (peculiarly picturesque and grand, as Professor Willis has termed them) than in the churches; the uses for which they were constructed allowed, or even suggested, a simplicity of composition admitting of that breadth of effect which Mr. Street has well observed, seems to have been the great aim of the Italian architects. Lofty, open arches on the ground, and over them windows of size proportionate to the large hall which occupies the upper story, with a projecting balcony, or *Ringhiera*, in the centre, are the features, which with a tower, to contain the bell which summoned the citizens to debate or to arms, are common to nearly all these structures. Every traveller in Italy must recollect the fine effect of the mass of shade in the open lower story, contrasting with the sun-lit wall above. The Broletto at Monza (see cut, No. VII.) is a very picturesque and interesting example of these buildings, and has a peculiarly fine *ringhiera*.

The Palace of the Juriseconsults at Cremona affords an instance of nearly the same composition, somewhat differently treated. Mr. Street remarks upon it: "There is a simplicity and truthfulness of construction about this little building which make it especially pleasing after the unreal treatment of the great transept fronts of the Duomo."

The Ducal Palace at Mantua presents another variety of the same composition, most beautifully executed in brick. The fine windows of the upper story are, however, injured by the common Italian defect, an excessive slenderness of the shaft which divides the lights.

Our limits compel us to confine ourselves to thus merely indicating what the volume contains, but we think that we have fully proved the assertion with which we commenced. As archaeologists, we could have wished that Mr. Street's architectural taste were somewhat more catholic, and that he had been disposed to give more information upon buildings anterior or posterior to the 13th and 14th centuries. To his limitation of his field we must probably attribute the absence of any notice of two methods of employing burnt clay for architectural decoration, which occur in Lombardy, viz., the use of discs or basins of painted and glazed earth, as in the campanile of the cathedral, and several of the churches at Pavia, and that of terra cotta, not merely turned out of a mould, but carefully modelled up by hand, as in parts of the Ospedale Maggiore at Milan. Somewhat more of historical investigation as to the dates of the buildings noticed would add greatly to the value of the work, for although such researches do not form a part of the author's plan, his object being, as we have before said, artistic rather than antiquarian, we cannot but regret that they did not do so; so well-practised an observer could doubtless do much to rectify or reconcile erroneous or doubtful dates. We hope these suggestions will have his attention when he prepares to give us, as we trust he will one day do, an account of the architecture of Central Italy, the district which, in the opinion of many competent observers, contains the best examples of that Italian style which corresponds with our Decorated.

We cannot conclude without expressing that commendation of Mr. Jewitt's admirable woodcuts which they so richly deserve; their combination of distinct and intelligent rendering of detail, and of good general effect, has rarely if ever been equalled, and certainly never surpassed.

Archaeological Intelligence.

Mr. THORPE has announced the intention of publishing (by subscription) the "History of England under the Norman Kings"; or, to the accession of the house of Plantagenet, with an epitome of the early History of Normandy; translated, with considerable additions, from the German work by Dr. J. M. Lappenberg. It will form one vol. 8vo., uniform with Lappenberg's "History of England under the Anglo-Saxon Kings," translated by Mr. Thorpe. Dr. Pauli is engaged in preparing the continuation of Lappenberg's work, and he has already brought the history down to the death of Richard II. Subscribers to Mr. Thorpe's forthcoming work are requested to send their names to Messrs. Taylor and Francis, Red Lion-court, Fleet-street.

A reprint of the most important work on the history and antiquities of Ireland, the "Annals of Ireland, by the Four Masters," has been announced by Messrs. Hodges and Smith, at a considerable reduction in price. The Annals, forming seven volumes 4to., were published in 1850, at fourteen guineas, and it is proposed, if four hundred copies are subscribed for, to re-issue the work at the price of twelve shillings per volume, within fourteen months, payment to be made when the entire work is finished. The readers of this Journal are well aware of the archaeological value of the Annals, and of the valuable notes by which the translation is accompanied. Frequent reference has been made at the meetings of the Institute to the work, the most authentic source of information regarding the architectural monuments, the remarkable examples of early art, the personal as well as general history of the sister kingdom, hitherto involved in such obscurity. The Annals extend from the earliest historic period to the year 1616. The valuable evidence which they alone supply in ascertaining the date and origin of the Dunvegan Cup, the Cross of Cong, the Lismore Crosier, and those productions of a remarkable class of early art, in metal and in sculptured stone, must be fresh in our recollection. Those who are disposed to encourage so spirited an undertaking in the cause of archaeology, should forward their names as subscribers to Messrs. Hodges and Smith, 104, Grafton-street, Dublin.

The value of photography, as an auxiliary to archaeological purposes, has been repeatedly urged upon our notice. A striking evidence of the advantages to be derived from this mode of illustration, has recently been brought before our society by one of its earliest and best friends, Mr. Charles J. Palmer, the historian of Great Yarmouth, in the delicate reproduction of the charter granted by King John to that town, in 1210. This admirable example of photographic skill was provided, under Mr. Palmer's direction, to accompany the "Repertory of Deeds and Documents relating to Great Yarmouth, printed by order of the Town Council," of which he has kindly presented a copy to the Library of the Institute. In connexion with the service thus rendered to antiquarian science, as shown by Dr. Diamond, Mr. Philip Delamotte and others skilled in the photographic processes, we may invite attention to a Memoir read by the Rev. F. A. Marshall, of Peterborough, at a recent archaeological meeting in that city. It sets forth the importance of the art in its application to preserving pictorial records of National Monuments, and is accompanied by useful practical suggestions.

This Memoir has recently been published by Messrs. Hering, 137, Regent-street.

The Journal of the late Rev. Bryan Faussett, during the formation of his highly valuable collections which now enrich the museum of Mr. Mayer, at Liverpool, will shortly be delivered to the subscribers. Mr. C. ROACH SMITH has added copious notes and an introduction to this instructive record, which will be accompanied by twenty plates and several hundred woodcuts, under Mr. Fairholt's direction. The impression is limited, and subscribers' names should be sent without delay to Mr. Roach Smith, who announces also, in immediate preparation, a quarto volume on "The Roman Antiquities of London," copiously illustrated. The issue will be limited to subscribers, to whom the price will not exceed two guineas. The volume will comprise architectural and sculptured remains, inscriptions, wall paintings, &c., with the more remarkable reliques, procured through Mr. Roach Smith's unwearied exertions, in his own museum. Since the earnest desire of archaeologists in England, that such collections should be preserved in some National depository for public advantage and instruction, will again, it is feared, be frustrated, the proposed publication claims the cordial encouragement of all who appreciate the interest of our National Antiquities.

A "History of the Isle of Wight, from the earliest period to the present time," has been announced as in preparation by Mr. Hillier, whose excavations, made by permission of the Hon. W. A. Court Holmes, and Sir John Simeon, Bart., have realised such remarkable results. The first portion of the work, which will form one volume 4to. (by subscription), will be shortly in readiness.

Mr. HENRY HARROD, F.S.A., Hon. Sec. of the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society, whose indefatigable researches have contributed much to illustrate the History and Antiquities of East Anglia, has announced for immediate publication (by subscription) "The Castles and Convents of Norfolk," in one vol. 8vo, with numerous plates and illustrations. Subscribers' names are to be addressed to Mr. Muskett, bookseller, Norwich. Large paper one guinea; small paper fifteen shillings.

The ARUNDEL SOCIETY has recently made arrangements of the greatest importance for the promotion of the Knowledge of Art, in bringing before the public the series of casts in "fictile ivory," due to the zeal and taste of Mr. ALEXANDER NESBITT, aided by Mr. FRANKS and Mr. WESTWOOD. By the kindness of the former, the exquisite examples of sculpture in ivory, from all accessible collections in this country or on the continent, have, from time to time, been displayed at the meetings of the Institute, and more especially in the temporary museum formed at the Cambridge meeting, where the interest and value of these remarkable illustrations of the History of Art called forth the gracious commendations of H.R.H. the PRINCE ALBERT. The series there displayed comprised nearly 200 examples, to which many additions have been made. The Arundel Society now offer to their members and to the public a classified selection of casts, from the second to the sixteenth century, or any class separately. An excellent catalogue has been supplied by Mr. Oldfield. These beautiful productions may be seen at 24, New Bond Street.

His Royal Highness the PRINCE ALBERT has been pleased to grant his patronage to the Annual Meeting of the Institute, for the ensuing year, to be held in EDINBURGH, with the cordial encouragement of the Lord Provost and local authorities.

The Archaeological Journal.

DECEMBER, 1855.

BURIAL AND CREMATION.

BY J. M. KEMBLE.

THE results attained from careful excavations in ancient cemeteries, have at length assumed so definite a form as to be susceptible of scientific classification. The substitution of observation for theory, of induction for *à priori* reasoning, has tended to throw light upon a darkness almost primeval, and to bring order into what, for centuries, had been little more than a mass of confusion. Comparison of data, capable of being tested by known and ascertained facts of history, now enables us to bring them within fixed limits of space and time; to assign various phenomena to various periods, and to reason with some security upon the races to which such phenomena are to be referred. And as one group after another has been carefully and accurately limited and ascertained, it has been eliminated from the mass which could be the object of indefinite speculation, narrowing ever more and more the circle within which uncertainty can prevail.

It is impossible not to see, that graves of a certain peculiar character, opened in various places, in Kent, in Gloucestershire, in the Isle of Wight, belong to one another; that is, to one race of men, and one period of time. It is equally impossible to separate them from certain interments found in Normandy, and in valleys of the Rhine and Danube. Unless we set out with assuming all the races of mankind to have buried their dead in the same manner at all periods of the world's existence; or, that all the races of mankind have, at some period or other, passed through precisely the same forms and modes of doing this; we cannot escape

from the conclusion, that the close resemblance in the cases referred to, implies a near connection between the peoples whose remains we are investigating, and a nearly contemporaneous practice.

The discovery of coins of known rulers in all these places, further gives us an approximate date for the period ; and the history of the European races, teaches which of these, at a given time, were to be found in given districts. A coin of Justinian found in a Kentish grave, shows that the deposit cannot be earlier than the year of Christ, 527 ; that the coin is not an original, but a copy and much worn, further makes it probable that even this date is much too early. The same reasoning places some of the graves at Selzen also in the VIth century ; while a coin of Charlemagne, in the valley of the Eaulne, brings down one interment there at least as late as the beginning of the IXth century.

At the same time, it must not be forgotten, that the occurrence of these coins, which fixes the earliest possible date of an interment, does not limit the period in the opposite direction. They may have been, and indeed most likely were deposited at periods later than the earliest years of the emperors that struck them ; constant experience teaches us that coins even of different centuries occur in one grave ; it is clear that the latest alone can decide the date, and even that only negatively. The interment may be later, cannot be earlier than the striking of the coin. All that has been said, applies no doubt, in perfect strictness only to the one interment in which such coins have actually been found, and to no others. But where others, similar to it in every detail, are opened on the same spot, and present throughout the same appearances, it is impossible not to conclude that they are nearly contemporaneous, and the remains of people who had one constant mode of disposing of their dead. The burthen of proof certainly lies with him who would deny this. It is in fact more probable that graves nearly identical in details, and placed on the same spot, should be those of one race, than that accident should have brought together two races having precisely the same funeral dispositions in one spot. We therefore naturally class together the contents of graves which occupy the same ground, and present the same peculiarities ; and we assign them to the same period,

allowing, of course, as much time as can, according to circumstances, be calculated to have been requisite for the accumulation of the interments observed. And here history may possibly supply the means of fixing the limits within which even this accumulation must be restricted. One interment at Londinières is unquestionably later in date than the foundation of the Carolingian empire ; that is, than the year of Christ, 800. But at that time, and from it, for a century downwards, the only people who could be settled at Londinières were Franks ; we therefore reasonably conclude the cemetery there, in which a grave is found to contain a coin of Charlemagne, to be a Frankish cemetery. Again, as the Franks could not be found at Londinières before the year 460, we must place the gradual accumulation of the dead in that cemetery between the dates so ascertained. It is clear that the only error here could be that of placing both the beginning and end of the period too high ; we have ascertained, in truth, only the date before which *no* Frankish interment could take place, and the *one* Frankish interment, which is defined by a coin of Charlemagne, did not take place. The coin of Charlemagne may have been deposited long after that emperor's death : the Franks may not have made a settlement in Londinières till long after the time of Clovis : the events could be in neither case *earlier*.

In this manner we are justified in assuming that the interments which occur under precisely similar circumstances in the neighbourhood of Londinières, at Parfondeval, Envermeu, Douvrend, belong to the same race and period, viz. : the Franks at the time approximated to. Again, when our date is limited by the era of Justinian, as it is at Selzen, we enquire, what race could occupy the valleys of the Middle Rhine at that period ? and our conclusion is, that it could only be a Frankish population. A grave in Kent, limited by a coin of the same emperor, could only have received the body of an Anglo-Saxon.

Again, when we proceed to compare the interments in these various districts with one another, we are led to further conclusions. We find so striking a resemblance in details, in graves from Kent, from Normandy, and the Rhine, that we are irresistibly compelled to see in all these, only the records of strictly contemporaneous races, yet of such as had adopted one nearly uniform mode of disposing of their

dead. When we find them using the same, or very similar weapons, the same, or very similar ornaments and domestic utensils, we are confirmed in our conclusion, that we have before us the remains of different branches of one great race, namely, the Teutonic, about a certain defined period, namely between the Vth and Xth centuries of our era. For the present then we will call the interments of this character, the Teutonic or Germanic group, and classify it by the occurrence of large iron spears, iron umbos of shields, double-edged iron broad-swords, without hilts, guards, or pommels ; large single-edged cutlasses, knives of different sizes, and iron javelin-heads ; drinking vessels of glass and wooden buckets set with bronze ; finally brooches and fibulae, cruciform and circular, buckles and clasps, the whole ornamented with precious metals and stones, or pastes and niello of elaborate patterns ; beads of glass and amethysts, and a few rare ornaments of silver. But above all, we distinguish it by the absence of *cremation*. In all these interments, the corpse has been deposited, with or without arms and ornaments, lying stretched out or in a cowering posture, in a coffin or without a coffin as the case may be, but always UNBURNT. This group comprises, in short, "The Unburnt Germans of the age of Iron."

But another class of cemeteries has also been observed, whose characteristic peculiarity is, the interment in urns of various patterns, of human bones calcined and reduced to ashes by the action of fire. Accurate comparison has shown that in spite of this one great difference, there are points of resemblance between the interments of this and the foregoing group. The ornaments which accompany the urns are found to be not dissimilar to those deposited with the unburnt skeletons ; the remains of weapons are rare, and this is accounted for by the fire by which the bodies themselves have been consumed ; but when they do occur, even in fragments, they are found to correspond with those of the first group.

The question now arises, Can we proceed with these, as we did with the foregoing ; can we arrange them also together, and have we any secure starting-points in history or chronology to direct us ? The answer must be in the affirmative. We are not entirely without them, but they are not so obvious and easy to seize as those that we had

previously to deal with, and require rather more intricate combination to become perfectly intelligible and satisfactory.

The Anglo-Saxon is only one of three races who are known, from history, to have, at different times, held sway in this island, and to any one of which, these remains might *prima facie* be attributed. But the claim of the Romans vanishes at once, because we are amply supplied with the means of comparing these interments with those of Romans, here and abroad, and they are found at once to differ in almost all essential conditions. Of the Kelts we know extremely little, but still that little does not correspond with what we observe in the interments under review. Anglo-Saxons alone remain.

Now if we set out with the tentative presumption, that these urn-burials belong also to that great Teutonic stock which occupied the west of Europe, and ruled for centuries in this island, we may reasonably expect to find analogous phenomena in the other lands where branches of the same stock were also, from generation to generation, masters of the soil. Positive history teaches us, that the Anglo-Saxons emigrated into this country from the northern districts of Germany. If, then, these are Anglo-Saxon burials, it is not absurd to expect similar burials in the lands from which the Anglo-Saxons came.

But here we are met by a difficulty *in limine*. Although for more than three centuries urns have been sought for and dug up in the north of Germany, it is only within a very few years that they have been properly preserved and described. They were noticed, indeed, even in the XVth century, and the explanation of them sorely puzzled the heads of the naturalists of that day. On the whole, the popular theory was, that they were natural productions, pullulations of the earth like bulbous roots; and a confirmation of this was found in the asserted fact, that they mostly made their appearance in the month of May.¹ Grave authors, especially clergymen, discussed this point in sermons from their pulpits; for among other corollaries, it had been deduced that as the pots could be good for no Christian use, they must be productions of

¹ This is by no means improbable. The loosening of the earth during the winter and early spring, may easily have caused slight land-slips in the sandy hills on

whose western slopes such cemeteries are usually found. They do so here and there till this very time.

the devil : very probably the remains of a dim tradition of their original use, strengthened by the superstitious views entertained of them by the peasantry, and which are not at all extinct even at this day.

The *spontaneous* theory certainly received a rude shock, when it was remarked that even if clay pots could pullulate, the bronze earrings and burnt bones they contained could not : and one far-seeing naturalist fancied he had solved all difficulties by suggesting that they might have been brought by a whirlwind from India or Africa, and deposited in Germany ; which he proved by showing that whirlwinds often did transfer portable things from one place to another. Meanwhile, the truth had become pretty clear to some of the country pastors, and by degrees the fact was recognised, that these were in reality the mortuary urns of older races. But works like the “*Antiquitæten Remarques*” of Rhodes, and Hermann’s “*Maslographia*,” while they cleared away an immense deal of error, heaped the subject over with an immense mass of superfluous, and in this case, mischievous erudition. Mortuary urns became the property of the learned, and were treated of with an ample allowance of the pedantry which was then fashionable. The misfortune was that books were multiplied, containing a vast deal of Greek and Hebrew, Coptic, and Samaritan, which had nothing to do with the matter ; but in which the great object which we seek, an accurate description of the articles found, was not thought of any moment. In general, in these books the rude woodcuts of urns and their contents are as little capable of giving us a true conception of their form and nature, as the vague and exaggerated language which those woodcuts were intended to illustrate. Worst of all, it was rarely thought necessary to give an accurate account of the *where* and *how* anything had been found : in fact, these inveterate curiosity-hunters kept the locality of their mines as much as possible from the knowledge of their rivals. However, for some years a better appreciation of the matter has prevailed, and the archaeologists of Germany have gone about their work in a careful, systematic, and satisfactory manner. And hence, although it is to be regretted that a good deal of what was recorded while the means of observation were plentifully supplied, is not to be implicitly relied upon, I think we have a sufficient amount of trustworthy evidence for our purpose.

The mortuary urns discovered in Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Sussex, and other counties, with bronze ornaments and the remains of iron implements, are of a very marked and peculiar character, which cannot well be mistaken, or confounded with that of other urns, discovered without such adjuncts. Urns of precisely similar form, and with exactly the same peculiarities, have been discovered in Jutland and parts of Friesland, on the borders of the Elbe, in Westphalia, in Thuringia, in parts of Saxony, in the duchies of Bremen and Verden, the county of Hoya, and other districts on the Weser : in short, in many parts of Germany east of the Rhine, west of the Upper Elbe and Saale, and north of the Main. They have, therefore, been found in countries which were occupied by the forefathers of the Anglo-Saxons. The latest of these discoveries, is that made in the course of last year at Stade on the Elbe, in the kingdom of Hanover, and as this is well known to myself in most of its details, I will describe some of the points of resemblance between it and the results of English researches. The urns are mostly of a dark brown or dull black clay, rudely executed, and never turned on the lathe : the foot itself being seldom quite flat, and here and there ornamented with a cross. They are often distinguished by a number of bulges in the sides, which have been, for the most part, produced by pressure of the clay from within. Some are nearly globular, with a slight rim for a neck, and disproportionately small opening : others are ornamented with one or more raised rims or fillets round the neck ; and these fillets are often marked with oblique lines, rudely scratched, or dots, apparently made with the tip of the finger. Others have knobs applied to different parts of the neck and the belly. The occurrence of handles is extremely rare.² The general form of ornament consists in circular lines round the neck, drawn very irregularly with the finger or a stick, and triangular figures below the shoulder, in the openings of which above and below are stars of dots (generally six disposed round a central one) made by the tip of the finger. And sometimes they are stamped with small circular or rhomboidal patterns, produced with the end of a stick, in

² Among eighty urns from Stade in the Museum at Hanover, only one has a handle. It is a small pitcher-shaped

vessel, with the usual ornaments of triangular lines and stars of dots.

which a rude cross or star has been cut. The custom common elsewhere of covering these urns with saucer-shaped vessels or bowls of clay, does not prevail here, but many of the urns have covers of their own, carefully fitting *into* the neck, and ornamented on the top with what seem rude figures of birds and animals. Any one who will take the trouble to compare the figures in Mr. Neville's Saxon obsequies with this description, will see at once the striking resemblance borne by his urns to those at Stade. The same applies to those in the British Museum, from Eye in Suffolk, and from Sussex, to those in the Antiquities of Derbyshire, and to others in the Archaeological Journals and Archaeologia. The following description, by Professor Henslow, of urns found near Derbyshire, almost exactly represents the form of those found at Stade :—" They are all wrought by hand without the use of the lathe, out of a dark-coloured clay, frequently mixed with fragments of felspar ; they are very slightly baked, though some have been so far so as to have acquired a reddish tinge. The majority are dark brown, passing either to black or a dark green tint. Many are ornamented with a few lines or scratches arranged in different patterns ; and some are more highly embellished by the addition of stamped patterns, such as might readily be formed by notching the end of a stick, or twisting a small piece of metal into a spiral or zig-zag pattern. Several of the urns have projecting knobs or bosses. Most of these bosses have been formed by merely pressing out the sides of the urn from within, whilst it was in a soft state ; but in some cases they were found of a solid lump of clay, which has been stuck on the surface of the urn."

If we continue our comparison, and examine the articles found with these urns, we shall find an equally striking agreement between the German and the English interments. In both we find the remains of glass vessels and beads, which have been exposed to the action of a strong fire. In both occur combs of ivory or horn, which are also not very unusual in graves of the "unburnt" group. In both we find small shears and tweezers, with earpicks attached ; ornamented discs of bone, and a multiplicity of bronze buckles, remains of fibulae and clasps, ornamented with the same or very similar patterns. The identity of these interments cannot then I think, be denied.

But if we are inclined in England to attribute them to the Anglo-Saxons, much more must we attribute them in Germany to the race from which the Anglo-Saxons came. Roman they cannot be in Germany, for they are found where Romans never came. Slavonic they probably are not, for they are found in countries where the Slaves never had lasting settlements; and bear no resemblance whatever to what is commonly found in lands where the Slaves were settled from the commencement of our historical period. Keltic they are not, for there is no record of Kelts in north Germany at all; and what little we do know of Keltic art, has nothing in common with these forms. But if they are none of these, they are German; and if they are German, so are the similar ones in England: in other words we have here a second group, namely, that of "The Burnt Germans of the age of Iron." And two classes of interments are shown to belong to the Anglo-Saxons: one in which cremation was, one in which it was not practised: assuredly a difference of such importance that we are bound to use all our efforts to account for it.

There seem to me but two ways in which this can be done, and only two hypotheses by which the facts observed can be co-ordinated. We may assume a difference of custom among different races, or the same race at different periods. We may suppose Jutes, and Angles, and Saxons, and half a score more subdivisions of the Germanic race, to have had throughout modes of interment, essentially differing upon this one point. The criterion will be, if we find certain customs invariably prevailing in certain districts, which can be shown to have been invariably occupied by some one or more of these particular subdivisions of races. If we cannot do this, our hypothesis will be insufficient, and the whole superstructure will break down. Or we may assume an identity of custom in the race, varied only, first in progress of time, and next by causes internal or external, which can be assigned. On this assumption it must be proved or made probable that all the races in question had originally one and the same custom; that they all relinquished it at the same or at different times; and that sufficient reasons can be assigned, either derived from the nature of the custom itself, or from causes external to its nature, to account satisfactorily for such a change.

Practically stated, the matter resolves itself into the two following propositions :—

I. Different tribes of Germans, all being pagans,³ respectively adopted and kept up the one form of burial to the exclusion of the other.

II. All the different tribes of Germans, adopted first one and then the other form, in progress of time, and in consequence of internal or external influences.

When we have decided upon these two points, a third question, not yet involved in the premises, will still remain to be considered. It may, namely, be asserted that no such accurate distinction exists as has here been assumed in order to place the case fairly for argument ; but that the various forms are so often found so intermingled, that we must pronounce all decisions obtained by the way now attempted to be pursued, nugatory. I shall take this question, also, in its proper place, and that will be when I have disposed of the second thesis above stated.

I. If it could be shown that the Jutes of Kent, the Isle of Wight, and Hampshire, were the only Jutes in England, and that their peculiar mode of burial, as found in the graves of Kent, was invariable ; if it could be shown that the Angles of Mercia, Northumbria, and East Anglia, had an equally invariable custom differing from the Kentish ; if it could be shown that the Saxons in Sussex, Wessex, and Essex, and so forth, had another, we should still have to show that the populations on the continent, from whom respectively these so-called different tribes or races came, had from the first the same customs as their descendants perpetuated in England. None of these things can be done. I have started for the present with the admission of Beda's division of the Germanic occupiers of Britain, into Jutes, Angles, and Saxons, although I have no doubt of its being merely traditional, and totally irreconcilable with the way in which the occupation gradually took place : I take the liberty of referring to the introductory chapter of the "Saxons in England." Beda

³ My reason for inserting these words here, is the wish to simplify the discussion. It is assumed much too hastily that because burial with arms and ornaments unquestionably was a pagan custom, all such burials are pagan. Nothing can be further from the truth. Washing the dead was a pagan custom. Are all the

dead that are washed therefore heathen ? Though some of the error which exists respecting English interments of early date has, in fact, this false assumption for its ground, I reserve the discussion of it for another occasion, wishing here to confine myself strictly to the terms in which the question of cremation has been put.

spoke only in the eighth century, more than 280 years after the events he described, and of parts of England with which he was personally unacquainted. And he took care to qualify what he said with an "ut ferunt." I am not disposed to lay great stress upon the historical value of a tradition nearly three hundred years old, recorded before the eighth century, and introduced merely incidentally by an ecclesiastical historian; but I am nevertheless prepared to admit that some greater influx of Germans than usual, upon the eastern and southern coasts of England, took place about the middle of the fifth century of our era, and attracted the attention of contemporary authors, as for instance Prosper Tyro: and following these, I am content to believe that a considerable troop, principally, perhaps, of Jutes or Frisians did then land in Kent, probably also in the Isle of Wight, and subsequently thence in the present hundreds of East and West Mene, in Hampshire. I must, however, on other grounds, claim other parts of England for the same population. The earliest Kentish charters, which are unfortunately much later than we could wish, present remarkable resemblances of dialect to the Saxon, known to us from many good and earlier authorities as Northumbrian; and no doubt both of these show peculiarities which especially belong to the Frisian in its earliest known form, but which do differ a good deal from the oldest forms of Saxon. Tradition placed the scene of Hengest's first great victory at Stamford, in Lincolnshire, and assigned the foundation of the kingdom of Northumbria to his son and nephew. It is therefore very probable that the people whom Hengest represents, viz., the Jutes or Frisians from Jutland, and the still more southerly parts of the Elbe countries, did occupy the eastern coast of England from Kent upwards, through Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk,⁴ Lincolnshire, and so on northward, stretching perhaps in their ships to the Isle of Wight and across the Solent to the opposite coast. Now in the parts of England beyond the limits

⁴ Nothing can possibly be more Frisian than the towers of the Norfolk churches along the coast,—real fortresses as they were in time of need. But the great characteristic of Frisian blood is *dikeing* out the sea. The Saxons did nothing of the kind. The Frisians did it wherever they came. Like a Newfoundland dog of good race, that will, for no reason on earth,

spend hours with its head under water trying to drag stones out of a canal, a real Frisian will build dikes even if you drain his land for ever. The Saxon retreats before the sea; the Frisian shuts it out, without budging from his place, and braves all dangers. Let any one who doubts look at the dikes in Holland, in Kent, and in Lincolnshire.

assigned to the Jutes by Beda's very insufficient classification, we find abundance of burials which differ entirely from those prevalent in Kent; we find cremation and urn-burial, in a much greater proportion than among the men of Kent and in the Isle of Wight.

The custom of Kent and the Isle of Wight itself is, however, not at all proved to have been exclusively and consistently that of inhumation with arms and ornaments, but without cremation. Even could it be shown that no other form had ever been yet discovered in either place, it would still be necessary to show that none such ever could hereafter be discovered; in other words, that those portions of England had been already so carefully investigated, so thoroughly ransacked, that it was impossible for anything new to be found there. My own experience of the way in which most extensive graveyards, filled with remains of cremation and urns, have been unexpectedly discovered, makes me hesitate extremely as to the fact that the capabilities of Kent and the Isle of Wight, in this respect, are finally and entirely known. Moreover, I learn from the *Archæologia*, vol. xxx., that a large barrow which was opened at a place called Ifinswood, in the first-named county, did actually contain five urns filled with evidences of cremation; from the description there given, these urns did not belong at all to the kind usually called British: while they did bear a remarkable resemblance to some forms not very uncommon in the museums of North Germany; the fact that they stood mouth downwards, proving nothing one way or the other, inasmuch as it is not at all unusual in Germany. Still more striking is the case of Sittingbourne, in the same county. From an account given in the "*Collectanea Antiqua*," vol. i., it is evident that the cemetery discovered at that place contained two distinct and separate portions, one filled with skeletons deposited in the usual way, with swords, spears, knives, and shield-bosses of iron, with jewelled fibulae, brooches, and other common ornaments; the other filled with urns of the Saxon class, in which were the calcined bones and ashes of the dead. Mr. Vallance's words show what sort of urns were found. He says, "Before I learnt anything of these remains, several fragments of urns of various sorts, some of a lead colour, some of a red, the larger ones of a coarse, black earth, mixed with sand and shells,

surrounded with ashes and calcined matter, had been dug up. Some were ornamented with beadings of four or more lines, some with a zigzag pattern, some with horizontal circular mouldings about the brim, some plain, some twisted. The coarse specimens are very little burnt; and the other ornaments are done by the hand without the lathe." I could find parallels to every one of these cases from my own drawings of urns found in Germany. A single glance at the plan which accompanies the interesting paper from which I quote, suffices to show that these were not urns deposited with skeletons, but apart from them, and in a separate portion of the burial ground.

Nor less does the Isle of Wight supply evidences of cremation in a cemetery, which must be attributed to the Germanic race. On Brightstone and Bowcombe Downs, Mr. Hillier opened thirteen graves, two only of which, that lay somewhat isolated, contained unburnt skeletons, (of which the skulls were wanting, a fact of not uncommon occurrence), while the rest yielded burnt bones and ashes. In one of these was an iron dagger, and a coin of Constantine (the younger?). In another, an urn of a character that bears not the slightest resemblance to those called British; but, on the contrary, a very striking one to the Saxon urns of other localities. So that here, in a place which all admit to be Jutish, we have a different sort of interment from that observed, but not even known to be prevalent, still less exclusively used, in Jutish Kent.⁵

Still less can it be shown that the converse holds in other parts of England, which, under Bede's classification, must have received a different population, Saxon or Angle. For though numerous instances of cremation have been found in Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Warwickshire, which supply us with the best examples of Saxon urns, yet burial without cremation has been found

⁵ Journal of Arch. Assoc. for March, 1855. I am afraid that I ought to apologise to all Saxon scholars for taking so much notice of this most shallow fancy, or of a theory which sets out with principles so entirely at variance with all that we know of the earliest occupation of Britain by German tribes. But it is the fashion to reason this way; and it is well, therefore, to put an end to the nonsense

on the ground selected, though it be itself only a quagmire. I will plainly state my conviction, that a competent knowledge of the races of modern Europe, and their relation to those named in our old authorities, is a necessary, however much neglected, qualification, to speak on these subjects. Without it, in my opinion, no one ought to venture a word about these primeval burials.

there too, and in very sufficient proportions. In the cemetery of little Wilbraham (East Angles) Mr. Neville calculated somewhere about 120 mortuary urns to 188 skeletons.⁶ Sussex also, which is reckoned of course to the Saxon race, (Súð Seaxan, South Saxons) supplied Dr. Mantell with urns of the same character as those of Norfolk and Stade. Church-over, in Warwickshire, had a cemetery filled with skeletons, accompanied by precisely the same circumstances as those of Kent, and at least one urn of decidedly Saxon character ; but the population of Warwickshire was Middle Angles. Thus far the grounds for the first thesis appear to fail. Much more do they so, when we enquire into the condition of the question on the continent of Europe, in the lands from which the populations of which we have spoken originally came. In all these localities we find a great preponderance of cremation ; in a few, both modes practised, but in a great majority of instances cremation only. This is, in one point of view, a difference from the English custom, but it is one that can be easily and naturally accounted for, and is the result of certain facts which are recorded in positive history. Still it is, on the other side, decisive ; if the Jutes always buried their dead, from the first without cremation, where are the dead bodies of the Jutes upon the continent ? In Jutland itself, urns with cremation are as common as interments without it, or more common. And no one will pretend that even these interments very closely resemble those of Kent or of the Franks. They are, in fact, mostly the remains of Danes, who, in much later times, wandered into the Jutish peninsula ; even as no doubt some of the urn-burials are not those of Germanic, but Slavonic heathens, who, till a very late period, occupied the riverain districts of the lower Elbe. Much less can burials like those in Kent be shown to exist in the Friesish districts, or in any of those occupied till the ninth century by the Saxons. In these countries thousands of urns of the iron age have been found ; I doubt whether in all *fifty skeletons* have, and even of these I may have to give an account on some other occasion, which will diminish their importance, as far as this question is concerned. In this also the grounds of the hypothesis break down altogether, and we are compelled to conclude that the first pro-

⁶ *Saxon Obsequies*, by the Hon. R. C. Neville, pp. 11, 25.

position, viz., "That different Germanic tribes, being pagans, respectively kept up the one form of burial, to the exclusion of the other," is not supported by facts, and falls to the ground.

II. We are now driven to enquire whether the second proposition has better evidence in its favour, and whether, if affirmed, it suffices to account for all the circumstances. I believe cremation to have been originally the universal rite of *all* Teutonic races,—as well as most others in the north of Europe,—and of by far the greatest number I can prove it to have so been.⁷ This proof, from history and tradition, had better be reserved for a separate enquiry, in which it will be shown that Goth, and Scandinavian, Herulian, Thuringian, Frank and Saxon, Alamann and Baiowarian all did alike *at first* in this respect. For the present, the reader must be content with the assertion, that the general expression of Tacitus is true of the whole Germanic race, and that all its subdivisions, without exception, at one time practised this rite. The reasons for it, which lie deep in the national heathendom, will hereafter also be investigated.

If, however, the first part of this argument be admitted, the second will be so also. Every day's experience is its proof: of all the races that did once burn their dead, there is not one that does so now, except under circumstances which are supposed to justify extreme and exceptional measures.⁸ The only question here that can interest us, is the cause which induced one or all of these populations to give up a custom universal, and founded on deep national feelings. As far as I know, there are only two such causes possible, one a physical, one a moral cause. In the case we are investigating, the physical cause is, the difficulty of obtaining means to practise the rite, which by gradually leading to its abandonment, as certainly leads to its desecration. In one or two countries, where wood was not abundant, where the cost of the funeral pile was too great for the means of a majority of the population, cremation vanished earlier than Paganism: as usual mammon had

⁷ This proof can only be given by a long citation of passages from the most various authors. I wish to reserve it for a particular work, devoted to this most interesting subject, but not entirely confined to the practice of the Teutonic races.

⁸ The Russians, in 1812, burnt hundreds

of thousands of their own and the French soldiers and horses. We ought to have done the same in the Crimea; but, for burning, as will be seen, one must have *wood*, and where you have not enough to warm and house yourself, you will hardly waste it on your dead.

got the better of all national and religious feeling; and burning having once vanished as a rite, became degraded as a principle. No sooner did the people cease to burn, not only its heroes, but its own children in Scandinavia, than it began to burn its malefactors. The want of wood alone—so deeply felt in Iceland that a father once sacrificed his own son to Thórr to get timber from the god for a house and throne—weaned the heathen from his ancient custom. He reserved cremation for trolls, witches, magicians, and such, as having been buried, rose again and *walked* to the horror and amasement of men.⁹ It is to this that I attribute the somewhat early relinquishment of cremation as a funeral rite in Denmark especially, where wood is very rare and expensive, and somewhat later in Sweden and Norway, where the store lasted a little longer. But Scandinavia alone furnishes us with any certain intelligence concerning the relinquishment of cremation during a period of pure Paganism. No doubt Scandinavia remained Pagan, long after other European states were Christian, and might be supposed to have taken a useful example from its neighbours. Perhaps this is so, considering the nature of popular tradition; but still, when we find in the twelfth century burning thrown back literally into the era of the gods, and inhumation carried beyond the bounds of all ascertained history, we must confess that a change took place very early among our Norse forefathers in this respect.

There is only one other race of Teutonic blood, of which any question can be made, as to their relinquishing cremation before they adopted Christianity. This is the Frankish: and I must confess I labour here under want of definite materials to form a judgment. If the interment of Childeric, recorded by Chifflet, be in all points accurately described,—if this be the Childeric, father of Clovis, and not one of the very many later Merwingian princes of the name, calling themselves kings *ex nobilitate*,¹—if the Salic law in its oldest manu-

⁹ The evidence of this must also be sought elsewhere. The church burnt witches also, but burnt them alive as *reputed heretics*. The Norseman who had learned to bury, though a pagan still, burnt the dead upon very different grounds. Fire—the all holy—broke their spells.

¹ Everybody born of a king, and there-

fore kingly, called himself a king, whether he had a kingdom or not. Tournay might very well be an appanage of any Salic house. The whole affair rests upon the authenticity of a ring *dubie fidei*. But the place lies on the road from Cambrai to Soissons! Of course it does; it therefore could not be the appanage of a son of the conquering family?

script form be older than the conversion of Clovis,—why then the Franks must have found very little wood in the cultivated plains of Belgium! Or being brought into near contact with Christians, and with the Romano-Gallic priesthood, they may, following a common habit, have adopted forms and ceremonies which were impressed upon them as all-important, instead of others in whose efficacy they had perhaps already begun to doubt, and which, to say the least of it, were dear. The Church almost always came at the right moment, and there was plenty of it in the Gallo-Roman provinces, when Clovis thought them worth taking and likely to be taken.

The next, or moral cause, is of much greater moment to us. The want of wood cannot explain the giving up an old religious rite, universally, and nearly at once, by large bodies of men. In fact, want of wood—a very merely material consideration—should not have been mentioned at all, if I did not firmly believe that in the vast mass of the vulgar, by which I mean the selfish in all ages, the religious idea is absolutely bounded by the circumstance of gain and loss; and that, if it was cheaper, we should find a vast majority of people, very glad to burn their dead at the present moment.

In Asia, there are people who do not defile fire with the work of burning matter,—corpses: these throw their dead anywhere, except into the flames. Some commit them to a sacred river; some expose them to the atmosphere. There have been people that gave them to wild beasts, and the wild beasts that eat their dead were sacred. But with the exception of the Scandinavians, who having once given up their custom of burning, may possibly have introduced strange variations in the disposal of the dead (many of which I find hinted at by Arnkiel and others, but cannot in any reasonable way trace), I know of no Teutonic people among whom any particular religious sect arose, or could well have arisen without our knowing it, whose doctrines would lead to the abandonment of the ancient rite of cremation. Among the men of our race, I find no trace of sacred rivers, which it was pious to people with carcasses, or of holy wolves whom it was good to feed with the flesh of the departed. I find, in short, in Europe, only a heathendom, which as long as it could develop itself undisturbed, committed its dead to

a sanctifying fire, and a Christendom which partly on other grounds of its own, but chiefly because cremation was *heathen*, insisted upon the relinquishment of cremation. The religious idea itself which lay in heathendom was necessarily in those days the ground of Christian hostility to it, and nothing was so bad in the eyes of the highest thinkers, the most earnest apostles of the new faith, as what was good and generous in that of the old. The bad parts they could have held cheap; these would have died of themselves. The noble parts, which had a life and vitality of their own, they must combat or use. And this we know them to have done; although they seem, in a worthy impatience, to have lost sight of the truth, that paganism was an introduction to Christianity, its antecedent, but not necessarily its antagonist; and attached more importance to mere forms than was necessary, or even on their own principle of *amalgamation*, desirable. However, history assures us that one great point to which they devoted their attention, was the substitution of inhumation for cremation; and that, as in later days, transubstantiation—a subsidiary question—became the test of Catholic and Protestant, so here, burying with or burying without burning was made the sign of distinction between two different faiths. Wherever Christianity set foot, cremation was to cease. The thing itself was, no doubt, of as little moment in the one case as the other: politics were most concerned, and religion used as a mask or engine.

My readers will all be well aware with what extreme and justifiable caution the missionary clergy dealt with all dangerous heathen doctrines and practices. They never mentioned them, if they could only help it, in any public document. What their letters to one another may have contained, what their conversations with one another may have turned upon, we do not know. But they took very good care to say nothing officially about anything which they wished to have forgotten. In the law of Kent, called *Æthelberht's*—the first Christian king,—there is not a word about the heathendom to be eradicated, or the Christianity established, except, indeed, the position the bishop and priest were to hold in the new Christian polity. And it is not till late periods that the actual heathendom of the Anglo-Saxons is at all mentioned as subject of legislation; and these are rarely genuine Germanic rites, being nine times in

ten, absurdities of the Romanizing clerics, who were happy to transfer to Saxon pages the trash they had found in their own Italian or Eastern models.

It is not therefore out of the laws in general, that we get our information as to the steps taken to put heathendom out of countenance. In all the mass of English legislation, there is not one word about cremation in any law: and I am struck with amazement when I read in *Beowulf* so many passages which have reference to it as a rite, and a noble one, applied to the funerals of heroes and kings. Still the absence of all mention of it does not disprove its existence, any more than the same ground would disprove the prevalence of other superstitious observances, which are first distinctly alluded to some centuries later. This can only show, that in the time of Cnut, the circumstances of the case were so changed that there was no further scruple about the distinct prohibition of certain forms of heathendom by name. There was in fact among the Anglo-Saxons, at the time of their conversion, no such predominant power in the state, as to allow of interference with the national customs and faith by authority. Whatever was to be done must be accomplished by persuasion and example. The utmost an Anglo-Saxon king could have ventured would be to give the missionary a safe-conduct and command respect for his person, as a king's officer or messenger, a right which was essentially inherent in the crown. If the King dispatched a *Missus*, his person would assuredly be respected, whatever might be the success of his message; and this I have some reason to think was the mode adopted. We know that it did gradually produce its fruits in the conversion of the heathen, though hardly in so short a period, or by such thousands at once, as the legends of the time would persuade us. A conqueror like Cnut could proceed somewhat more strongly to work and bring a very different authority to bear upon a population long accustomed to obedience, and in truth long professing Christianity. What in *Ædelberht* or *Rædwald* would have been a dangerous attack upon the national faith and freedom, was in Cnut only a proper solicitude for the purity of the religion which the nation had long adopted. But the case was very different with Charlemagne in his dealings with the Saxons on the continent—the Old Saxons, as Beda for distinction calls them. These had for nearly thirty years

waged a war against the Franks under the princes of his house, and with more success than the purely Frankish annals willingly admit. From these annalists we learn over and over again that the Saxons were most attached to their heathendom—*paganissima gens*—and Charlemagne who, unluckily for his historians, during the whole time was in firm league with the pagan Slavic tribes of the Elbe, the Polabi, Obotriti, and the like, is always celebrated as a champion of Christ, a hero of light warring against darkness. At length the Franks prevailed, and Charlemagne adopted the policy of removing from the Saxon land and dispersing throughout his Frankish territories all the heads of houses with their families, who remained after the great struggle. A strict calculation shows, that about thirty thousand householders were thus expatriated. Their country—the present duchies of Bremen and Verden, and the principality of Lüneburg, as well as the lands beyond the Elbe, were given by him to his heathen allies of Slavic blood. But against the heathendom of the Saxons, who were now to be a part of the Frankish population, severe regulations were issued: while theft and murder, and other crimes which we look upon as entirely subversive of society, could still be atoned for by the customary compensations, two or three essentially heathen practices were made liable to the punishment of death: because heathendom was the bond which held the Saxons together, and nourished that national feeling which had for so many years rendered them dangerous to the Franks. Among these practices was cremation of the dead, which is distinctly stated to be the heathen custom:—“*Si quis corpus defuncti hominis secundum ritum paganorum flamma consumi fecerit et ossa ejus ad cinerem redierit, capite punietur.*”² The custom then of the pagan Saxons, as of most other pagan races in Northern Europe, was to burn the dead; that of the Christians to bury them.³ Now,

- A. D. 785. Pertz. iii., 49.

² Solonius Apollinaris, for instance, speaking of the Gauls, about 486, says the heathen were burned, the Christians buried (Ep. iii., 12.) I do not cite this as an authority, but merely to show how constantly the same ideas were connected together. They were so, no doubt, because it was a positive fact of general, if not universal occurrence. The following passage would be more to the purpose, if

we could be perfectly sure of its genuineness. “*Promiserunt Saxones cum juramento quod infra annum cum suis, quotquot nondum baptizati, baptismum suscipient . . . quod paganos suos vellent dimittere, quod sacrificia hominum et bestiarum, cremationes hominum mortuorum, incerta auguria et divinationes infidas derelinquerent.*” A.D. 784. Pertz. iv. (Capit. Spaur.)

when we couple with this passage, the fact already stated, that all the tribes of Germany during their period of Paganism, did practise the same rite, and all did gradually relinquish it, we shall, I think, be justified in concluding that their reason for doing this was the adoption voluntarily or enforcedly of Christianity ; and consequently that it is Christianity which makes the distinction between the two modes of interment observed ; in other words the “Burnt Germans of the age of Iron” were Pagans. The numberless details of heathen life, to my mind, are strong confirmation of this conclusion. Burial was the custom of the earliest Christians for one particular reason : ⁴ it had always been the practice of the Jews, and following it the Saviour—a Jew, according to the flesh—had been buried : so had his oldest disciples and apostles. So that it is impossible for a moment to imagine any Christian adopting any other rite, especially one practised by the Pagan persecutors ; and there is besides reason to believe, not only that eastern ideas about the nature of *matter*, which afterwards developed themselves in Gnostical and Manichean heresies, early mingled with Christianity ; but also that superstitious notions respecting the resurrection from the dead *in the body*, were not without influence upon this point. On the other hand the heathen believed his gods to have instituted the rite of burning, nay, themselves to have mounted the funeral pile. From the ascent of the smoke he drew auguries as to the future condition of the friend that had departed. Fire too was the purifier, the medium of communication with the gods, one at least of the holy elements. A striking instance occurs to me of an interment⁵ in which fire seems to have been introduced almost by stealth, although the bodies had evidently not been exposed to the full power of a pile. Some years ago at Elze, near Hildesheim, a barrow was removed. Upon its basis there were found six holes, or kists, as they are sometimes called. Five of these were nearly filled with ashes of wood, and over each a skeleton lay at full length upon its back. The sixth hole was not so occu-

⁴ There were also two more. Funeral piles were expensive, and the earliest Christians were poor men. The funeral rites of Christians could not have been performed publicly, while Christianity—
not yet being a tolerated religion, *religio*

licita—was compelled to hide itself. But burning could hardly have been managed in private. With burial there was no difficulty, as the catacombs show.

⁵ MSS. Reports in the possession of the Historical Society of Hanover.

pied, but close by it stood a small urn and a spindle-stone, the only implement of any kind discovered in the barrow. The base was enclosed with a circle of stones. It has been conjectured that this is an interment of a transition state, of Christians who had not yet entirely relinquished their pagandom; or of pagans, who though dread of the law prevented them from raising a pile to consume the bodies entirely, had devised a plan of burning at least a part of the flesh, by means of fires lighted beneath the dead, and fed with heath, sedge and ferns, whose flame would not be seen far off. In like manner the Abbé Cochet found several skeletons at Parfondeval lying upon a stratum of ashes and charcoal.⁶

I have said that there might be a third question: viz., whether our experience is such as to justify our attributing an exclusive practice to one time or race at all: in other words, whether cremation and inhumation may not have been practised together. In time, no doubt they might; and this is all that our discovery of urns with ashes and skeletons in the same cemeteries will warrant our saying. But contemporaneous or not, on the same spot or not, the urn-burials are Pagan; the burials without cremation, in England,—are Christian. If there be any equivocation in the matter, it lies the other way: a few half-converted Christians may for a while have clung to the rite of burning; but I do not believe any Pagan Saxon to have buried without it. The *rite* of burning was heathen, and could only be given up when heathendom itself was shaken to its foundations, as it happened in Scandinavia. I can explain the first case, by the very imperfect organization of the clergy in the first years of the conversion. They did not live in the country among the people themselves, but went their rounds, from place to place, as missionaries, residing cenobitically under the protection of the kings, upon their vills or estates, and sometimes in the towns, where any such existed. As far as Anglo-Saxon history teaches us, nearly a hundred years elapsed between the advent of Augustine and the regular establishment of anything like parish churches. So that I find no great difficulty in the supposition that here and there a professed Christian may have been dispatched on his long journey *more paganorum*, simply because no Christian priest happened to be by to prevent it. Moreover, during nearly

⁶ La Normandie Souterraine, p. 303.

two-thirds of a century after the conversion, apostacy was not at all an uncommon occurrence ; and no doubt one of its very first evidences would be a return to the rite of cremation. But apart from these considerations, the deposit of Christian and pagan remains, upon the same spot, does not appear at all surprising. We must only be content to abstract a little from our prevalent notions about churchyards. I have myself little doubt, that when a village was duly and formally settled, a certain portion of the mark, or boundary-land, was set apart to receive the dead. It is possible that it may have been designated merely by the erection of certain tumuli, or the placing of huge stones. For not only have I opened fifty tumuli, from 4 to 6 feet high, perfectly circular, and standing upon perfectly level ground, one after the other, and found absolutely nothing in them ; but the deposit of numerous urns in one barrow, and generally in irregular stages, and with irregular intervals, proves pretty clearly, not that the tumulus was thrown up over the urns, but that holes were dug in the tumulus, and the urns therein deposited, as occasion required. The barrow was there, in fact, before the burial ; as was necessarily the case when the slope of a natural hill was selected for the purpose. And one reason for paving the surface of the burial-ground, much as our streets are paved—a thing often observed in Germany—may have been to preserve the earlier deposits from disturbance, by marking exactly how far the ground was already occupied. Moreover, it seems that on this supposition we can best account for the occurrence, which is not unusual,—of barrows entirely without deposits. They are simply such as have not been used.

Now, if such burial-grounds existed long before what we call churchyards were permitted to be established, which in this country was in the middle of the eighth century, and while these remained extremely rare (for even towards the end of the tenth, there were churches without churchyards), I can readily imagine Christians still resorting with their dead to the old locality. Indeed, they may often have been Christian enough to bury their dead, and yet heathen enough to wish them buried in places of ancient sanctity, and near the bones of their family and friends. And, after all, it is very possible that in England the new churchyards were expressly and intentionally placed upon the sites of the old cemeteries.

There were many reasons why they should, no one why they should not be so. It must never be forgotten that one of the first principles impressed upon the Roman missionaries to Britain, was to take advantage, wherever they could, of the *religio loci*. Gregory distinctly orders Augustine not to destroy the heathen temples, but to christen them and devote them to the service of God. If this could be done, I see no earthly difficulty in the supposition that they may have consecrated the ancient burial-grounds, too, as places which the people were accustomed to. The words of Gregory, in his letter to Mellitus, are as follows :⁷ he is to give this message to Augustine. “Quia fana idolorum destrui in eadem gente minime debeant; sed ipsa quæ in eis sunt idola destruantur; aqua benedicta fiat, in eisdem fanis aspergatur, altaria construuntur, reliquæ ponantur; quia si fana eadem bene constructa sunt, necesse est ut a cultu dæmonum in obsequia veri Dei debeant commutari, ut dum gens ipsa eadem fana sua non videt destrui, de corde errorem deponat, et Deum verum cognoscens et adorans, ad loca quæ consuevit, familiarius concurrat. Et quia boves solent in sacrificiis dæmonum multos occidere, debet eis etiam hac de re aliqua solemnitas comminutari; ut die dedicationis vel natalitii sanctorum martyrum, quorum illic reliquæ ponuntur, tabernacula sibi circa easdem ecclesias quæ ex fanis commutatæ sunt, de ramis arborum faciant, et religiosis conviviis sollemnitatem celebrent, nec diabolo jam animalia immolent, sed ad laudem Dei in esu suo animalia occidant, et donatori omnium de satietate sua gratias referant; ut dum eis aliqua exterius gaudia reservantur ad interiora gaudia consentire facilius valeant.” That Christians did resort to the old heathen burial-places is patent from another of Charlemagne’s regulations: “Jubemus ut corpora Christianorum Saxonum ad cimiteria ecclesie deferantur et non ad tumulos paganorum.”⁸

So that the occurrence of both modes in one cemetery has nothing at all to disturb us, or to throw doubt upon the one conclusion to which all other considerations lead; namely, that the skeletons are those of Christians,—the urns, with ashes, those of Pagans. And in this very enactment lies the explanation of the fact that skeletons are so very rare upon the continent, in those parts from whence our forefathers came. As long as they remained heathen, and in their own

⁷ Bedæ. Hist. Eccl. i., cap. 30.

⁸ A.D. 785. Pertz. iii., 19.

ancient settlements, they burnt their dead. As soon as Christianity was forced upon them, they were also removed from their old seats, and were ordered to carry their dead to the churchyards. This was a certain way of weaning them from the proscribed customs: but it is also the reason why we do not find their interments scattered about in the fields, as we do in England, where no such compulsory regulation was in force, or could be. We know that the first thing Charlemagne did was to found churches, such as they were, in the conquered lands, even though he did give them to Pagans, and we have seen that he compelled the Saxons to carry their dead to the churchyards, which it is not at all necessary to consider in the close neighbourhood of the church. In fact, even to this day, the German churchyard always lies away from the village, and generally at a very considerable distance from the church. All that the Frank Emperor desired, was to wean his neophytes from the old custom, with which he had nothing to do, and break them into a new one, imposed by his authority, and of which he would be the source and the head. Nor is it quite certain that the provisions of the law made at Paderborn, in 785, refer absolutely to the Saxons remaining in their old seats, and not to those deported by the conqueror to the western side of the Weser, a point not hitherto considered as it ought to have been. It is also to be borne in mind, that laws made by central authority are broken when that authority is not in such power on the spot as to enforce itself, if they are in opposition to the national feeling. Charlemagne may have given directions in general, the application of which was left to his counts in the counties administered by them. But this only shows what he wished to do, not by any means what he succeeded in getting done. Since the days of William the Conqueror we have had laws against theft, and have hanged a pretty good number of thieves, and yet men steal even to this day. Still they must do it secretly, or be hanged. And so I suppose heathendom was carried on. In a vast number of burials where interment is the rule, there are signs of cremation, as at Elze and Parfondeval; the body was not reduced to ashes, but it was *singed*. It was dangerous to make such a fire as would consume it: by a little management, the advantages of Christian and heathen burial might be united. I believe that we may thus best account for the

few remains of charcoal (sometimes exceedingly minute) which are often found in tumuli, where skeletons are deposited entire. A little fire was probably considered sufficient to symbolise the ancient rite; and if any doubt remained on the mind of a new convert, he took care to be on the safe side, and compounded for a little paganism to make all sure in both quarters. The priest might give him holy water to frighten away the devil;⁹ the other holy element—fire—he provided for himself as well as he could.

Before I close this paper I wish to call attention to a few facts strongly illustrative of what I have said. An extremely interesting and, from its further consequences, important comparison may be established between a certain set of interments in north and south Germany, the analogy of which to the cases already touched upon is clear, and instructive; I refer on the one hand to the excavations made at Sinsheim, and described by Dr. Wilhelmi; and on the other to the researches of Lieut. Genl. Count Münster, on the banks of the river Weser, in the duchy of Verden, and my own on the banks of the rivers Ilmenau and Wipperau, in the principality of Lüneburg. I need scarcely say, that the last-named localities lie in the far north of Germany, in the country which was par excellence inhabited by the continental Saxons. The position of the first-named place may, however, be less well known. It lies in the grand-duchy of Baden, not very far from Zähringen, and somewhat to the south and east of Heidelberg. It is, therefore, within the *limes Romanus*, otherwise in the country where we must naturally look for Alamanic, not Francic or Saxon populations. In Lüneburg and Verden, cremation was universal and exclusive, and although, I believe, that Count Münster, Baron v. Estorff, M. Hagen, and myself, must have opened at least three thousand interments, I can only call to mind two of skeletons, recorded by Estorff. Münster and myself never saw a trace of anything of the kind, nor could I, by the most diligent enquiries, prosecuted for seven months over a great expanse of country, learn that anything similar had been found. Count Münster never hints even having ever met with unburnt bodies, although his earnest and most

⁹ This is Durandus's explanation, not mine. The Abbé Cochet quotes it very aptly to account for the urns which are so often found at the head and feet of skeletons; "Deinde (corpus) ponitur in

speluncâ, in qua, in quibusdam locis ponitur aqua benedicta, et primum eundem; aqua benedicta, ne demonum qui multum eam timent, ad corpus accedant." Ration. div. off. vii., c. 35

accurate researches extend over a period of twenty-five years! At Sinsheim, on the contrary, fourteen barrows contained upwards of seventy interments, and no one sure case of cremation; one uncertain heap of calcined bones, without urn or accompanying implement, was stated to consist of human bones, but even if this were so, bore no resemblance to a regular urn-burial. The bodies here were all deposited after the Kentish and Frankish manner, in shallow graves, dug in the natural soil from one to three feet deep; they were accompanied by swords, knives, spears, and javelins, of iron; buckles and fibulæ, hooks and rings, of the same metal; by pins, neck, ear, finger, arm and ankle rings, fibulæ, fine chains, rivets and knobs, buckle plates and thin plates of bronze; by fragments of precious stones and a great variety of beads of coloured glass. These articles could all be observed *in situ*, and the account given by Wilhelmi, which bears the strongest internal evidence of scrupulous accuracy, is valuable from teaching the exact use of many things found elsewhere in urns, and about which doubts have been entertained. Now it is very remarkable, that every single thing found by Wilhelmi, except the weapons, is perfectly identical with the contents of the urns found on the Weser and Ilmenau, and as we have not found any weapons there at all, beyond one or two bronze daggers or spear-heads, we may leave them out of the question entirely. There is not much pottery at Sinsheim, which is to be regretted: the few vases which stood at the feet or heads of the skeletons having been almost all destroyed: but two considerable portions were saved of urns, and one small one entire. These bear a great resemblance to urns found at Molzen, Ripdorf, Nienburg and Wölpe. Nothing, perhaps, is more thoroughly characteristic than the hooks and rings of iron, which served in lieu of buckles to connect the ends of a strap or belt, which passed over the shoulder, and may have served to carry the sword. These were found in a great number of urns by Estorff, Münster and myself; they were also found upon the skeletons at Sinsheim, where buckles were not numerous, any more than they are in our urns. I know of, perhaps, one hundred such hooks and rings, at Hanover, Lüneburg and Uelzen, and none elsewhere.

The fibulæ at Sinsheim, whether of bronze or iron, bear no resemblance either to the cruciform fibulæ, or the round

brooches of Kent, the Isle of Wight, Wilbraham, Fairford or Londinières or Selzen, Nordendorf and Fridolfingen. But they are so perfectly identical with those found in the north German urns, that many of them might be mistaken for the produce of the same workshop. Even one peculiarity which had struck me from its rarity in Lüneburg, namely, the finishing the fibulæ with an ornamental bead of glass, or a rosette ornament of ivory, recurred at Sinsheim more than once.

The ear-rings attached to the skeletons were of that peculiar form of which Count Münster, Baron Estorff, and myself have collected some hundreds; they consist of a single fine bronze wire, twisted in a spiral, so as to form a circular pendant about the size of a shilling. We have found them eight or ten at a time in the urns of north Germany.

The neck, arm, and foot rings, of hollow bronze, as well as the armlets of solid bronze are in form, size, and ornamentation, identical with those of Lüneburg. Especially noteworthy are one or two hollow rings of iron; of these, whose fabrication it is most difficult to understand, there are three in the Hanoverian Museum, taken from urns, one by Count Münster, two by me.

I would further add, as a most important piece of evidence, that small pieces of red sandstone, which are extremely common in the graves of Mecklenburg, were found in all the Sinsheim barrows; in both cases they have been deposited intentionally; and what is perhaps still more significant, a flint dagger or stone kelt was found in nearly every barrow, together with the skeletons, armed as they are with iron, and ornamented with bronze. But from the most important cemetery that I ransacked, viz. that of Molzen, which contained more than two hundred urns of the Iron age, and of no other, I also took a beautiful flint dagger, and a well-made hammer of hornblende. In the cemetery at Ripdorf, from which I took nearly sixty urns entire, I also found one dagger of flint and a profusion of flint chips, of the sort we call knives, some placed within, some round, the urns; and this where there is no flint to be found for miles around. Count Münster found an axe-head of stone, with a bronze pin, together in one tumulus at Nienburg under similar circumstances. It may also be observed that whereas in the Sinsheim barrows the skeletons were all found (with a single exception) on the south, the west, or the south-west sides of the base, so in the

barrows opened by me, the urns were invariably upon those sides, hardly by any chance in the east or north, which was generally occupied by a heap of stones mingled with charcoal, probably denoting the *Ustrina*. We have here then, a striking instance of two Germanic interments, differing in the sole point of cremation, every other conceivable point being identical in both.

Still I confess, that it is to me a strange and difficult matter to account for. The populations of Baden and Lüneburg cannot be supposed to have belonged to one tribe ; the distance between the Lüneburg-heath and Sinsheim is too great for fashion to have produced a similarity of customs. The Sinsheim fashion bears no resemblance to that of Oberflacht ; the ornaments found at Selzen are wanting there. The weapons found at Sinsheim differ very materially from those of the Selzen graves, the Frankish interments described by the Abbé Cochet, and the various Saxon interments opened in various parts of England. The spear with its hollow socket, rarely reaches one foot in length, and the socket is exceedingly short (rarely more than two to three inches long) differing most materially in this respect from the Saxon and Frankish weapon, but strongly resembling the bronze spear-heads of north Germany. The swords, moreover, all had sheaths of bronze.

I do not know whether it would be allowable to conclude these inhabitants of Sinsheim to be Lüneburgers, transplanted from their natural homes, either by the policy of the Frankish Emperor, or the earlier astuteness of a Roman one to serve as outposts upon the frontier of his empire. I cannot even decide upon the date to which these interments are to be referred, from the total absence of everything tending in the least to give a clue to this vital question. But in the equally complete absence of any definite signs of paganism,—for the covering up the bodies with ashes and charcoal, which was noticed in some graves, may be explained by a desire to preserve them the longer, or if not, may be accounted for, as I have done it with regard to the barrow at Elze ; and the fact that here and there fires had been lighted upon the base of the barrow, does not prove anything,—I am compelled to abide by my general result, and to believe, that be they what they might, the denizens of the Sinsheim barrows were Christian, were not deposited *secundum Ritum Paganorum*.

THE CHURCH OF ST. MARY THE GREAT, CAMBRIDGE.¹

BY THE REV. EDMUND VENABLES, M.A.

HAVING now brought down the history of the fabrick of the Church of Great St. Mary's to a period when it was completed substantially as we now see it—modern alterations excepted—I proceed to fulfil my purpose of employing the documentary evidence afforded by its annals in illustration of the religious history of the Church and University during the eventful XVth and XVIIth centuries.

In the ante-Reformation period, the parish books do not supply any matter of special interest to distinguish them from the other parochial records of a similar character with which we are now so familiar. We have the usual items of disbursements for the services and furniture of the church—Incense, Candles, Banners, and the like; with the yearly charge of setting up, watching, and taking down the Easter sepulchre,² and copious lists of the Jewels, Plate, Vestments, and Relics, with which this church was richly provided,³ as well as notices of the Font, the Holy-water Stoups, the Organ,⁴ &c., which, though not without interest, must not detain us from the more important entries that follow.

The first sign of the dawning Reformation occurs in 1538, when, as Strype informs us, "the Holy Bible was first divulged and exposed to common sale, and appointed to be had in every parish church."⁵ Accordingly, in this year the Bible was purchased at the expense of the parish, for 4*s.* 6*d.*, the cost being thrown over two years.⁶ This was Rogers' edition, published by Whitchurch and Grafton, at

¹ Continued from page 255.

² For many years one John Capper performed this office, receiving two shillings as his fee, besides 10*d.* for his meat and drink.

³ These catalogues, which contain much to interest the ecclesiologist, are to be found transcribed by Cole (vol. ix.), and Howtell (vol. vi.).

⁴ P. B. 1514, "a lokke for the Fonte 2*d.*;" "a Blak Fryer in Ester Holddays for to

pley atte Orgayns 16*d.*" 1526, "to one Kell for a skynne of ledir to amende the organs, 9*d.*" 1527, "a pair of orgayns 20*s.* 3*d.*" 1528, "a newe handell for the orgyns 2*d.*;" "for a quart of swett wyne to the orgynman for ysser labor 4*d.*"

⁵ Memorials of Crammer. Eccl. Hist. Soc. i. p. 141.

⁶ P. B. 1538, "halff the byble, ij. vi*d.*" 1539, *do.* ij*s.*"

Hamburgh, under the name of Matthew's Bible, which, in the following year, 1540, gave place, by royal injunction, to that published under Cranmer's patronage, commonly known as "the Great Bible."⁷ The cost of this was 18*s.*, one-third more than the price at which the king had ordered that it should be supplied "well bound and clasped."⁸

The Papal Supremacy, as is well-known, was formally abrogated by Act of Parliament in 1534. Two years later, in 1536, the University of Cambridge required an oath from all who were admitted to any degree, renouncing the authority of the see of Rome, and, as the natural consequence we find in 1541, fourpence paid "to the glasyer for takyng downe of the Bysshoppe of Roomes Hede." In the same year, the alienation of the plate and vestments belonging to the church, which continued for the next ten years, had its commencement in the sale of "a monstre silver and gilte ponderyng 66 unces, after 4*s.* the unce," and some few other articles, "be the consent of moste p^{te} of ye parochioners." This practice of embezzling and making away with the church goods, reached such a height in the following reign, that it was found necessary for an Order of Council to be issued, April 30, 1548, forbidding the parishioners to "sell, give, or otherwise alienate any bells, or other ornament or jewels belonging unto the parish church, upon pain of his highness' displeasure."⁹ This order, however, was not very effectual in putting a stop to this course of sacrilegious rapine, as may be seen from the following entries, which are merely examples of many others:—

1550. Sold to Doetor Blyethe, a pyllow covered w^t velvet and gold, and 19 flowers of gold v^s.

Item, sold 2 pillows to Mr. Smythe, one of sattyne of Bryg, and one of tyssew viij^s viij^d.

Item, 2 Vallants of the Sepulehre xi^s.

Item, sold the clothe y^t went ov' y^e Quyr in Lent, and 3 paynted clothes y^t was of the Sepulehre vj^s.

To remedy this evil, we read in the journal of Edward VI., April 21, 1552, that "it was agreed that commissioners should go out for to take certificates of the superfluous church plate to mine use, and to see how it hath been embezzled." Accordingly, in May, 1552, commissions began

⁷ P. B. 1540, "half y^e gret byble, ix^s."

⁹ Strype's Cranmer, ii. 90.

⁸ Strype, Mem. Cranmer. i. 191.

to be issued to chief persons in each city or town, empowering them to examine into and make returns of the amount of property still remaining in the churches. And at this time the following entry occurs in St. Mary's Church books.

It. payd for the wryghtyng of the invyntory of o^r chyrehe goods & jewells to delyver to the kyngs majesties commysyners, xvij^d.

Item, for mete and drynke for them that mett together for y^e wayyng of y^e chyrehe plate, and for waynge y^e other goods of y^e chyrehe, to put y^m to y^e invyntory according to y^e kyng's commandment, vj^s.

It is in the year, 1550, that we meet with the first notice of Divine service in English, for which, "at the fyrst tyme" of its celebration, "two Prymers" were bought, costing 16s. The obedience of the churchwardens to the royal mandates appears to have been somewhat tardy, in this and other particulars, for they now for the first time purchased "a booke of omylys," "2 books of the servys for the communyon," and two copies "of the Paraffrys of Erasmus," all of which had been published and ordered to be publicly used three years before, in 1547.¹

In November, 1550, an order was issued for the entire removal of all altars, and a letter of the council sent to the bishops directing them to see to its immediate execution. The altars in St. Mary's were five in number, besides the High Altar ;—viz., that of St. Mary the Virgin, the Holy Trinity, St. Andrew, St. Laurence, and Doomsday. These were now all pulled down, and the slabs sold for nine shillings, while seven shillings more was paid for "payyng the chapells wer the altars stoode, and stoping holles in the walles." The images too were now all removed,² and 6*d*. paid "for makyng of the wall were Seynt George stoode in the chyrehe." while the mural paintings were concealed under the shroud of whitewash in which the church is still constrained to do penance; the monotony being at that time partially broken by texts of Scripture, for writing which, 4*l*. 3*s*. 4*d*. was paid.³

On the 28th of February, in this year, Bucer, who had been

¹ By the injunctions of Edward VI., 1547, "the parsons, vicars, and other curates, are ordered within twelve months next after this visitation, to provide the Paraphrasis of Erasmus, in English, upon the Gospels, and the same set up in some convenient place within the said church that they have care of, wherens their parishioners may most commodiously

resort unto the same, and read." Cardwell, Docum. Ann. i. 9.

² See "Mandatum ad amovendas et delendas imagines, 2^d Edward VI." Cardwell, Docum. Ann. i. 39.

³ P. B. 1550, "It. pay^d for Wythyng y^e Chyreh, xx^s. iiij^d."

"It. payd for wryghtyng of y^e Chyreh walls with scriptures, iiij^{li}. iiij^s. iiij^d."

invited to fill the Divinity Chair in this University, died, and two days after was buried in the chancel of St. Mary's, "the vice-chancellor, doctors, graduates, and scholars, with the mayor and townsmen (in all, three thousand persons), attending his funeral. After the accustomed prayers, a sermon was preached by Dr. Matthew Parker, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, and an oration made by Dr. Walter Haddon, Public Orator. On the following day, the University and Town again assembled at St. Mary's, where more than 400 persons received the Eucharist; after which, Dr. Redmayne, Master of Trinity, preached. Last of all, the learned men of the University made their epitaphs in his praise, laying them on his grave." In consequence of the great concourse of people on this occasion, there seems to have been no small confusion in the church, insomuch that it was found necessary to repair the seats which had been then broken down.

It. for Nails to mend the Seats in the Chyrche when Mr. Doctor Barsur was buried, ij^d.

It. for a Borde to mend Doctor Meers Seat, iij^d.

1552. It. paid to Mr. Mayer for the Bybull that was strayed 10 of July, 3^s. 4^d.

In 1553 was published the first revised edition of our Common Prayer Book, usually called the Second Book of King Edward VI., which was immediately adopted in St. Mary's, as we see by the following entry :—

It. for y^e copye of y^e servys in Englyss set out by note, iij^s. iiij.

It. for iij salter bokes in yngleeyse to sing or say y^e salmes of y^e servys, vij^s.

These are among the last entries in King Edward's reign, for on July 6, in this year, he died, and was succeeded by his sister Mary, of whose devotion to the doctrines of the Roman Church, and its effect on the religion of the country, the parish books supply interesting evidence, e.g. :—⁴

| | |
|---|----------------------|
| It. for a fayre mess boke and legent | xiiij ^s . |
| for oyl and creme ⁵ | iiij ^d . |
| for wachyng y ^e Sepulker | vj ^d . |
| for crepyn to y ^e crosse on Good Friday and ester daye . | xj ^d . |

⁴ The following items are interesting as showing the income of a parish priest three centuries ago.

1553. P^d to Sir Holland for a wekes service, 3^s.

P^d to Sir Holland for 6 wekes wagys at 3^s. a weke, 18^s.

P^d to Sir Holland for 7 wekes from the fyrst weke in Lent till Low Sunday at 3^s. 4^d.

⁵ Chrisin.

The Rood, which had been injured and defaced, is again repaired, and we find—

| | |
|--|---------|
| p ^d for paynting of y ^e Rode | 6s. 8d. |
| for 7 yards of Canvass for the Rode | 4s. 8d. |
| p ^d to Carpenters for makyng the Frame for y ^e Rode | 2s. |
| for 5 Candyll Stykks for the Rode | 8d. |
| Payd to Barnes for mendyng over the Rode and over the Altar in the Chapell, and for washing oute the Scriptures | 4s. 4d. |

In the month of January, 1556-7, Cardinal Pole, as Legate from the See of Rome, appointed a commission to visit the University, with the view of the more complete re-establishment of the Roman Catholic faith; one of the first acts of which was to interdict the church of St. Mary, on account of the interment of Bucer, as well as that of St. Michael, in which Paul Fagius had been buried. On the 12th of January, we read in Meres' Diary,⁶ "the Heddes met in the scholes where and by whom it was concluded that for as myche as BUCER had byn an arche heretycke teachyng by his life time many detestable heresies and errors, sute should be made unto the Visitors by th' University that he myght be taken up and ordered according to the law, and lykewyes P. FAGIUS." There was no difficulty made in granting a petition so agreeable to the wishes of the visitors; and after different formalities gone through in citing, hearing witnesses, &c., they were publicly condemned on the 26th in St. Mary's church, where the Vice-Chancellor, the University, and the Mayor were gathered together, the visitors also being present⁷ "in a lytle skaffolde made for them within the quere." Then the Vice-Chancellor coming "before them without the quere door" made the third citation, and the Bishop of Chester (Cuthbert Scott) pronounced sentence on Bucer and Fagius as heretics, commanding their exhumation.

This was carried into effect on the 6th of February, and on Sunday, the 7th, the Church was reconciled by the afore-said Bishop, as is recorded in Meres' Diary. "On Sunday myslyinge rayne. It, at vii my L. of Chester came to S. Marys and almost half an houre before to hallow the church, and hallowed a great tubbe full of water and put therein salt, asshes and wyne, and went onse round abowte without

⁶ Meres' Diary. Lamb's Cambridge Documents, p. 201.

⁷ Ibid.

the church and thryce within, the Mr of Xts College, Mr^s Percyvell and Collingwood were his Chaplens and wayted in gray Amyses, and that don Parson Collingwood sayde Masse, and that don my seyde Lorde preched, wherunto was set my L. of Lynkolne and D. Coll, the Datary taryng at home and my L. of Chychester being syck." This reconciliation of the church is thus recorded in the Parish Books :

Item. payd for new halloweing or reeoneylyng of our chyrche beyng Interdycted for the buryall of M. Bucer, and the charg therunto belongeing, frankensens, and swete perfumes for the sacrament and herbes, &c., viij^d. ob.

The following day the Eucharist was carried by the University and Corporation in solemn procession round the town to St. Mary's church, where, for the first time since the interdict, "masse was songe by the Vic. with deacon and subdeacon in p'iksong and organs."

Queen Mary breathed her last on November 17, 1558, her cousin and counsellor, Cardinal Pole, the Chancellor of our University dying a few hours after her. He was succeeded by Elizabeth's favourite statesman, Sir W. Cecil, afterwards Lord Burghley, under whose government the University began speedily to reassume the character it had had in the time of Edward VI. Of the changes immediately set on foot, we find, as usual, interesting evidence in St. Mary's Parish books. The altars which had been restored were forthwith removed by order of the visitors,⁸ a communion table substituted in the room of the High Altar, the last resting-place of the foreign reformer once more decently covered, and English Service Books provided to supply the place of those destroyed in the preceding reign.⁹

Archbishop Parker was a determined enemy to Roodlofts, which he endeavoured to destroy throughout the whole of his province ; as appears from an inquiry in his Visitation Articles, in 1569,¹ "whether the roode lofte be pulled downe

⁸ Among these we find Matthew Parker, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury ; Cecil ; May, Dean of St. Paul's ; Horne, Bishop of Winchester ; and Pilkington, Bishop of Durham.

⁹ It. payd for takyng down the altars, 2^s. 8^d.

It. payd for the communion table, 6^s.
It. to Lenge and Barnes for payyng of the Quere and covering Bucers grave, 2^s 2^d.

It. payd for takyn downe the tabernacle, 10^d.

Payd to W^m. Pryme for carrying of formes and a table for the visetours, 4^d.

Item for two communion books, 10^s.
for 3 psalters, 16^s. a byble bosed, 13^s. 4^d.
a paraphrasis 12^s. the homelyes 13^d.
register booke 10^d.

Item, for a table to set over the alter, and the calender to the same, 20^s.

¹ Cardwell, Docum. Ann. vol. i. p. 322.

according to the order prescribed." The loft in St. Mary's was pulled down by his orders in 1562,² as is recorded by Strype in his life of the Archbishop. From the parish records we find "a booke" (probably a copy of Archbishop Parker's Injunctions), was sent down to them, for which they had to pay "iij^d," in obedience to which they hired "Goodman Dowsey and one W^m. Jenner" to pull down the gorgeous structure, the erection of which has been recorded above; while divers "carpyndores were employed to mend "y^e scatts," and also "to tacke down" the Rood beam, or "pisse y^t y^e Rood stood on."

As we advance in Queen Elizabeth's reign, we find record of the sale of Church books, the candlesticks of the Rood-loft, and of "an Image of our Lady," removed from "the blew velvet altar-cloth by the commande of the archdeacon."³ The windows, also, from which "monuments of superstition" had already been removed in the reigns of her father and brother, were still further defaced, and plain glass substituted for the "images" with which they had been adorned.⁴

We are now drawing near the period when "those eyesores and heartsores," as they have been termed by one of their most determined enemies, whose loss the church and country has recently had to deplore,⁵—close and appropriated pews, were beginning to find their way into our churches. The civic functionaries seem to have been among the leaders here, as in many places, in fencing in their dignity by those wooden walls, of which the records of the time afford several amusing notices.⁶

The following is from "Wickstedes Thesaurus," preserved among the few but valuable MSS. of Downing College, bequeathed by the laborious Bowtell:—

"In 1607, the Judges being in Cambridge," (Lord Coke

² Strype's Parker, book i. c. i.

³ P. B. 1568. "Resseived of Mr Cuthbert, Stationer, for all the books in N^o 9, small and great, 10^s 6^d."

It. of Mr Howell for 15 toppes of Candlestiks of latten used for the roode lofte, and the lampe, weying all 50^{lb} with 2 candlestiks of latten for the altar at 3^d 12^s 6^d."

It. of one William, a singing man, the Image of our Ladye which was taken of the blew velvet altar clothe by the commande of the Archdeacon, 6^s."

⁴ 1566—B. For washyng oute Images in the windows xij^d."

1569. For repaireing the glasse and putting owte y^e Imygas, vij^d."

For ij fete of new glass in the same wyndows, xij^d."

To William Pryme for wasshing oute images oute of the glasse wyndowes, iv^d."

⁵ Archdeacon Hare, Primary Charge.

⁶ If the Jemalls (*i. e.* hinges, *gemelles*) in the following entry may be taken as a proof of the existence of doors, the aldermen had shut themselves in some years before this. P. B. 1574. "It. payd for mending the Jemalls to the seat where the aldermen doe sytt, iij^d."

and Judge Daniell) "and coming to S. Maries Ch. to the sermon, upon Sunday in the forenoon, and cominge to sitt in the Maior his seate, where he then did sitte, the Maior offered them *very kindly* to sitt in y^e scatte *under hym*, unto w^{ch} the L^d Coke a litle stayed, as seeminge his place was supreme above the Maior, but in th'end, both the Justices did sitt in the same seate, under y^e Maior, and M^r. Justice Danyell ate his goeing away comended the Maior for his corrage therein, allowyng y^t to be right in hym."

A few years later, in 1610, in consequence of the plague raging in the town, the aldermen were unable to give their usual public supper on St. Bartholomew's day, on which it was ordered that the cost should be devoted to the erection of a new pew for their accommodation. The Vice-Chancellor Clement Corbet, Master of Trinity Hall, interposed his authority to forbid the erection, which was in consequence delayed, and the pew was not built till 1613.⁷

The year which was signalised by this decision on the part of the civic functionaries saw the erection of a gallery for the accommodation of the dignitaries of the University—the prototype of that hideous deformity, which tends more than anything else to rob the interior of St. Mary's of its ecclesiastical character. The parish books give us the following entry :—

"1610, 21st March. The Dockters gallerie was sett up, uppon which daye Mr. Dockter Dewporte, V. C., did give his word and faithful promise, that at the next congregation at the Scooles it should be decreed that noe Scoller under the degree of a Mr. of Arts or Batchellor of Lawe should not presume to sitt in any seatt in S. Maries church in searvice or sermon tymes.⁸ The firste of July, 1610, Mr. D^r. Dewporte wth Doctors did firste sitt there; against that daye the Pulpitt was rassed, and Mr. Dr. Richardson of Christe Collidge, preached."

⁷ "1610. The town was visited by the Plagne, and in consequence of the danger of contagion, the Mayor and Bailliffs resolved that the supper which was accustomed to be made at their charge on St. Bartholomew's day, should not take place, but that the money they were bound to expend on it should be laid out in erecting a new seat in S. Marys for their accommodation.

"1612. This year the aldermans seats building, but the Vice Chancellor stayed them.

"1613. It. Aldermans seats set up." Cooper's Annals of Cambridge, iii. 40. Baker's MSS., xxxvii. 226.

⁸ The following order, from Bedell Ingram's Book, (MSS. Gough, Camb. 46, p. 37) shows that it was deemed no great hardship for the junior members of the congregation to stand at sermon time.

"Januarii 13^o, 1586. It'm it is lyke-wise ordered that no Bachiler or Scholer shall p'sume to sitt by aine M^r of Arte in aine church at Sermons or aine lecture in the Scholes or before the fourmes before the pullpitt in St. Maries church or upon the seates before M^r. Maior or seates in the quire nor stande upon the seates fourmes stalles and deskes in the comon scholes at aine scholasticall exercise: nor shall in aine scholasticall aete or reading,

The existence of this gallery was not a long one. It deformed the church only six years, being taken down in 1616, during the Vice-Chancellorship of Dr. Hill, of Catharine Hall. In 1618 the old pulpit was sold to the same "Mr. Dr. Richardson," who had preached the first sermon in it after its being elevated to allow the Doctors, then for the first time snugly ensconced in their new gallery, to see and hear with convenience; and on Sunday, Aug. 30, "the newe Pulpitt," which was a gift of Mr. Atkins, alderman of Lynn Regis,⁹ being "sett up, Mr. Belleauke,¹ of Pembroke Hall, preached the first sermond in it." At the same time the pews were getting higher, and more numerous, so that in 1628 we find the entry, "P^d for the seatts and pewes raising, and mending on the south syde of the church, w^{ch} the parish consented should be done, and because they were not formerly done the churchwardens were presented x^l xix^s viij. ob."

We now enter upon a most stormy period, when the tempest which had been gathering ever since the commencement of the century, was preparing to break forth with that destructive fury which for a time overwhelmed both the throne and the altars of this land. At this time Archbishop Laud, moved no doubt by the continual representations made to him, of the disaffection to ecclesiastical and civil government, so rapidly and fatally spreading, and the notorious disregard of all church order, and open irreverence in the churches and chapels of the University, signified his intention of visiting Cambridge metropolitically. His right to this jurisdiction was keenly contested by the Vice-Chancellor and heads of the University, until at length it was mutually agreed that the decision of the matter should be referred to the King. Charles, by the advice of the

knocke hisse or [make] aine noyse to disturbe let hinder or breake of aine scholasticall acte w^{ch} by order of the scholes is left to the discrecion of the Senior of that companie and the bedells upon paine that ev' y of the offenders in any of the p'mises being Auctors shall p'sently paye iij^s iij^d and being not Auctors to be openly corrected in the common schools w^{ch} the rolde.

"P^restitum et contentitibus

"D. CORCOR PROCASE, D. PEARSE,
D. COAD, &c.

⁹ Town Book, Baker's MSS. xxxvii. 223. See Bishop Wren's Autograph MS. Catalogue of Pembroke Hall Library, p. 31. "Qui (Dr. Atkins) non contentus Amoris Venerationis que sue magnificum sane testimonium jampridem (*in novo illo Templi B. M. pulpito*) Bonis literis Religiosis que posuisse; etiam et privatum in isto Pembrochianarum Musarum κερματισαρχη nomen adfectumque summi pari sponte cepit profiteri."

¹ Dr. Baleauke, Fellow of Pembroke.

Privy Council, determined in favour of the Archbishop's claim, but the storm of rebellion so rapidly thickened, and matters of so much more serious importance begun to press so heavily on Laud, that he was never able to carry out his intention. However, in anticipation of his proposed Visitation, a detailed account of the more special disorders in the University was forwarded to him, Sept. 23, 1636, drawn up probably by Cosin, or Sterne, Master of Jesus, which affords, among other similar matters, a sad though curious picture of the state of St. Mary's.

Speciall Disorders in y^e Church and Chappells.

St. Mary's Church at every great Commencement is made a Theater and the Prevaricatours Stage, wherein he Acts and settts forth his prophane and scurrilous jests besides diverse other abuses and disorders then suffered in that place. All the year after a parte of it is made a Lumber House for y^e Materials of y^e Scaffolds, for Bookbinders dry Fats, for aumerie Cupboards, and such like implements, which they know not readily where else to put. The West windows are half blinded up with a Cobler's and a Bookbinder's Shop.² At the East end are Ineroachments made by diverse Houses, and the Vestry is lately unleaded (they say) with purpose to let it ruine or to pull it down.³ The *Seats* many of them are lately cooped up high with wainscot.

The Service Pulpit is sett up in the midst, a good distance below the Chauncell, and looks full to the Belfrie, so that all Service, second Service and all, (if any be) is there and performed that way.

The Service there (which is done by Trin. Coll.) is commonly posted over and cut short at y^e pleasure of him that is sent thither to read it.

When the University comes in for the Sermon the chancell (the higher part of it) is filled with boyes and Townsmen, and otherwhiles (thereafter⁴ as the Preacher is) with *Townswomen* also, all in a rude heap betwixt y^e Doctors and y^e Altar. In y^e Bodie of the ch. Men Women and Scholers thrust together promiscuously, but in y^e place onely before y^e Pulpit, *which they call y^e Cock Pitt*, and which they leave somewhat free for masters to sitt in. The rest of y^e churche is taken up by the Townsmen of y^e Parrishe and y^r families, w^{ch} is one reason among others y^t many Scholers

² These shops, which were the property of Trinity College, had existed as far back as 1587. P. B. 18 Eliz. "Whereas Trinity College has demised to Thomas Bradshaw their Two Shops at the W. end of St. Marys Church for 19 years, which are to be builded anew by the said Thomas, who did goe about to stop up the windows, and made his frame in the Church Wall to the prejudice of the same, without the consent of the Church Wardens, and was therefore by them discharged from building there, now on his earnest request

they have granted leave, on condition he pays 5^s. per annum to the Church." In Loggan's view of the church, the shops are to be seen nestling under its shade. Cole speaks of them as existing in 1745, "to the disgrace of Trinity College."

³ The present vestry was purchased of the parish by the University, in 1663, for £50, and was afterwards wainscotted by them at a cost of £30 more. Baker's MSS. xl. 60.

⁴ *i. e.* according.

pretend for not coming to this church. Tradesmen and prentices will be covered when the University is bare.⁵

Upon dayes when the Litany is there solemnly to be sung by y^e Universitie we have not above 3 or 4 Masters in their habit that come to assist at that Service in y^e Quire, y^e rest keep their places, below for the Sermon, To which Sermon every Day we come most of us Drs. and all, without any other habit butt the Hatt and the Gowne.

Before our Sermons the forme of bidding prayers appointed by the Injunctions and the Canon is not only neglected but by most men also mainly opposed and disliked. Instead whereof we have such private fancies and several prayers of every man's own making (and sometimes sudden conceiving too) vented among us that besides y^e absurdities of y^e language directed to God himself our young Schollers are thereby taught to prefer the private spirit before y^e publick, and their own invented and unapproved Prayers before all the Liturgie of y^e Church. Awhile since one of them praying for y^e Queene added very abruptly, "And why do the people imagine a vain thing. Lord, thou knowest there is but one Religion, one Baptisme, one Lord. How can there then be two Faiths." After praying for Helkiah the High Priest and Shaphan the Treasurour, and Azariah the King's Squire &c. presently he added "And whoever Lord shall mistrust providence yet let not y^e great Men upon whose armes Kings do leane contemn Elisha's Sermons," which being questioned by some of was defended by other some for a most Godly Religious and Learned Prayer. To such liberty are we come for want of being confined to a strict forme.

Although Laud's proposed Visitation was never actually held, the expectation of it seems not to have been without effect upon the arrangements of St. Mary's, and not only in the removal of the Doctors' Gallery,⁶ but in the erection of a new Font and Chancel Screen, and the decoration of the Chancel, we see traces of an improved tone of feeling in ecclesiastical matters.

The Font, which was the gift of one Mr. R. Martin, is a large and not inelegant specimen of the cinque-cento style then prevailing, worthy of a more appropriate and conspicu-

⁵ Strange as it may seem to us, to cover the head at sermon time was a privilege of Masters of Arts, and other superior degrees. In the 42nd volume of Baker's MSS. we find a paper entitled "Divers disorders rectified in the University of Cambridge;" of which one of the articles orders "that Batchellors of Arts and Inferior Students give place to y^e betters, and that they do not presume to cover y^r Heads at Sermons, or other public meetings whatsoever; except such only as are privileged by the Statutes, viz. Sons of Noblemen and Heirs apparent of Knights. ROBERT GOAD, V. C. 1595."

⁶ In Archbishop Laud's annual account of his province to the king, A.D. 1639, he complains that "in most of the chancels of the churches in Cambridge, there are common seats over high, and unfitting that place in divers respects," and says "I think if an admonition would amend them it were well given. But if that prevail not, the High Commissioner may order it if your Majesty so please." To which the King wrote in the margin "C. R. It must not bee. You are in the right; for if faire meanes will not, power must redresse it."

ous position than the obscure corner in which it is now immured.⁷ The chancel screen, we learn from Dr. Dillingham's Diary,⁸ was set up in 1640, the Vice-Chancellor being Dr. John Cosin, afterwards Bishop of Durham, then Master of Peter House, and at the same time the side chapels were also divided from the aisles by parcloes. A few years before, the chancel had been wainscoted and "adorned with spire-work," stalls on either side, affording accommodation for the heads of houses and Doctors.

This improvement, however, was very short-lived, for here the notices of church reparation end, and those of church desecration begin. For in 1641, the year after the erection of Cosin's screen, there came an order from the Parliament "to remove the communion table from the east end of all collegiate churches or chapels in the University," in conformity with which mandate we find in the parish accounts under this year, "Paid for taking down the communion rails and levelling the chancel, 2*l.* 7*s.*"⁹ That this ordinance was not complied with without resistance from the leading churchmen of the University, the following passage from the "Articles against Scandalous Ministers," is a proof.

¹ "Articles against Dr. Cheney Rowe, Parson of Orwell, and Fell. of Trin. before the Committee for Scandalous Ministers sitting in Trin. Coll. Jan. 14, 1644."

"Stephen Fortune of Cambridge Haberdasher sworn sayth, 'that at such time as the Ordinance of Parliament for takyng away Rayles and Steps in churches, came forth, this Deponent being ch. warden and about to execute that ordinance by taking away the Stepps and Rales in G^t. S. Maries church in Cambridge, Dr. Row came to the church to this Deponent, and thretened this Deponent, that if he went fowrard with y^e worke, he would proceed against him, wheruppon this Deponent did desist untill he had further order from the Parliament.'"

7 P. B. "Of Mr. F. Martin 8^{lib} towards a new Font to be built according to direccions from Mr. Dr. Porter.

1632. To G. Tompson for the makeing the funt, 2^{lib}."

Item. A barrel of Lint seed oyl to pauite the fonte, the porch and Churche doores, 14*s.* 4*d.*

Item. To David Blisse for paynting y^e fonte and finding colors, 1^{lib}."

In Cole's time the Font stood in its canonical place, on the north side of the west entrance, and was decorated with gilding.

⁸ Baker MSS. xv. 129.

⁹ The following passage from Prynn's VOL. XII.

"Canterburies Doom" will show that this altar had been for some time a mark for jealous eyes. It is from the evidence of Wallis (the well-known Professor of Geometry at Oxford) on Archbishop Laud's trial. "That in the Universitie Church of St. Maries there was an altar railed in to which the Doctors, Schollers and others usually bowed. That these Altars, Crucifixes, Candlesticks, Tapers and Bowing to Altars continued till after this Parliament, and were brought in since the Archbishops time by means of Byshop Wren, Doctor Cosens, Dr. Martin and othersall Canterburies great favorites."

¹ MSS. Baker, xxxi. 350.

The year 1643 was signalised by the visit to Cambridge of Oliver Cromwell and the notorious iconoclast Will Dowsing, under whose superintendence terrible havoc was made of the churches and their ornaments.² Dowsing's Diary, which records his deeds of destruction with such remarkable minuteness, has no entry under the head of "Great Maryes ;" but we learn from the parish books and other contemporary documents, that the church did not pass through the storm unscathed. The chancel screen was defaced, the painted windows broken, the cross removed from the steeple and chancel, the Prayer Book torn to pieces by the soldiers in the presence of Cromwell himself, and many other acts of wanton sacrilege committed.

The events of this time are thus briefly enumerated by Dr. Dillingham :³—

Jan. 164 $\frac{3}{4}$. Mr. Cromwell come to Towne.

Dr. Cosins Sereene at S. Maries defaced.

29. The Clarke set y^e 74 Psalm to be sung before the Sermon in y^e afternoone.

Febr. The Pyramis at S. Maries over the Doctors Seats quite pulled down.

March 1. About 4000 Soldiers in Cambridge.

4. This day Surplisses were left in all Colleges in Cambridge.

And in the *Querela Cantabrigiensis*, we find the following piteous lamentations are poured forth :—

" And that Religion might fare no better than Learning, in the University church (for perhaps it may be Idolatry now to call it Saint Maries) in the presence of the then Generall our Common Prayer-book was torne before our faces, notwithstanding our Protection from the House of Peeres for the free use of it, some (now great one) *M. Cromwell*, encouraging them in it, and openly rebuking the University Clerk who complained of it before his soldiers."⁴

And again—

" And now to tell how they have prophaned and abused our several Chapelles, though our pens flowed as fast with vinegar and gall, as our eyes do with teares, yet were it impossible sufficiently to be expressed ; when as multitudes of enraged soldiers (let loose to *reforme*) have torn down all carved worke, not respecting the very monuments of the dead : And have ruin'd a beautiful carved structure in the *Universitie* church (though indeed

² P. B. 1643-4. " For defacing and repairing windowes, 10^{lib}. 11^s.

" Item, to the overseer of windowes, 6^s. 3^d.

" Item, to a Service Book, 6^s. 3^d.

a Directory, 1^s. 4^d.

" Item. For taking down of the cross of the steeple and chancell, 16^s. 4^d.

" Item to the workmen when they were levelling the chancell, 1^s.

" Item for taking downe the clothe in the chancell and the borde, 2^s. 6^d.

" Item for Parchment and writing the covenant, 3^s."

³ Diary *ut supra*.

⁴ Q. C. p. 11.

that was not done without direction from a great one, *M. Cromwell*, as appeared after upon our complaint made to him) which stoode us in a great summe of money and had not one jot of Imagery or statue worke about it. And when that Reverend man the Vice Chancellor, *D. Ward*, told them mildly *That they might be better employed*, they returned him such language as we are ashamed here to expresse.”⁵

We pass on a few years and all is again changed. On the 11th of May, 1660, Charles II. was proclaimed king in various places in the town of Cambridge, and we immediately find the men, who, a short time previously, were keeping a day of thanksgiving, on the 30th of January,⁶ for the victory of Dunbar, putting down “the *Rebel's Arms*,” and setting up those of the king, and purchasing hassocks, or “Communion Crickets” for the parishioners to kneel on at the time of the reception of the Eucharist, while the venal bells were celebrating with their joyful peals, the downfall of the rulers whose victories they had been called so often to proclaim.

From this period, the annals of St. Mary's cease to be of much interest. The parochial records supply but brief notices, and those only show how fast the guardians of the sacred edifice were travelling the downward road, and injuring and disfiguring its noble proportions.

Towards the close of the century, various minor alterations were made. In 1675, we find the University “new laying” the roof of the chancel, and in 1697, the parish granted them permission to erect an organ; a noble instrument, the work, like that of Trinity, of the famous Father Smith.⁷ But it was

⁵ Q. C. p. 17.

⁶ The 30th of January was set apart by order of the Parliament as a day of thanksgiving for the success of the arms of the Commonwealth by sea and by land, especially the condition of the Castle of Edinburgh, and the defeat of the Scotch forces in the west of Scotland, by Lambert. (Parliam. Hist. of England. xix. 451.) The victory at Dunbar is thus noticed in the parish accounts. “For reading y^e booke of narracion of victory over y^e Scots, 6s.” 1650. “To Persyvall Sekole, the clarke, for the ringers, by an order from the maier on 30 Jan. being a day of thanksgiving, 2s.”

⁷ The organ was of course demolished in 1643. Till the erection of the new one in 1697, the University had the loan of a small instrument, on occasions, from St. Michael's Church. The new organ is said, in the parish accounts, to have been “purchased of St. James.” Was it originally

built for the new church of St. James, Piccadilly, consecrated in 1634? Till the times of the Commonwealth, A.D. 1643, (when Dr. Dillingham notes it as a thing worthy of mention, that on “Jan. 29, the clarke set y^e 74th Psalm to be sung before y^e sermon in the afternoon;”) the University service would appear to have been unaccompanied with Psalmody. After the Restoration it was put down, A.D. 1673, during the vice-chancellorship of Dr. W. Wells, President of Queens (Baker, xlii. 143), and was revived on the erection of the new organ in 1697, when we find syndicks appointed “for the organ at St. Mary's, and Psalms to be sung there,” by whom a collection of Psalms to be sung before sermon was authorised. The old custom of sitting during the Psalm, and rising at the Gloria Patri was retained by the undergraduates till the last fifteen years.

in the beginning of the XVIIIth century, that a considerable legacy from Mr. Worts,⁸ led to the most important changes in the internal arrangements of the church, in the erection of the galleries for the Undergraduates and Bachelors, and the new paving of the nave. The date of the legacy was 1709, but it was not till 1735 that the parish, after many hearings and an appeal to the Bishop's Court, gave its consent to their erection.⁹ At the same time, the University "craved permission to erect a pulpit in the pit," (as the centre aisle, occupied by the Masters of Arts, is irreverently designated,) "where the rostrum now stands; also that this square in the nave or body of the church, called the pit, may be raised with a new floor, boarded; and that no body hereafter be there buried." This request was acceded to by the parish, but with the stipulation "that the University do give the said parish the sum of 150*l.* towards erecting new pews in the said parish church for the use of the said parishioners."¹ The University would seem to have made little difficulty about accepting these humiliating terms, and having gained the consent of the parish, set about encumbering the majestic interior of this noble building with a huge mass of woodwork, marring its proportions and hiding its beauty; this, after an existence of a hundred and twenty years, is, we may now hope, doomed to a speedy and unlamented destruction. The faculty for the erection of the galleries is dated June 21, 1735. One of the consequences of these deplorable alterations was, that the interior was so darkened, that in 1766 it was deemed expedient to rob the aisle win-

⁸ "Per donat' Gul Worts Septum A.M. conditum, Acad' Cancellor' Magistr' & Scholar' designatum, et per Licentiam Ecclesiastic' abalienatum et dictum." Cole, ix. 27.

⁹ Cole says, "Of late years the Parish has been in a state of opposition to y^e University; 1st in relation to the galleries, and then about their altering the Pit or square place railed in for y^e Masters of Arts, tho' the University was at all the expense," ix. 25.

¹ Jan. 27, 1735-6. "At a general meeting of y^e Parishioners of y^e Parish of S. Maries y^e Great in y^e Town of Cambr. at y^e Vestry of y^e saide Church."

"It is this day agreed by y^e said Parishioners that leave be given to y^e University to erect a Pulpit in the Pit where the Rostrum now stands, and likewise to floor the said Pit with boards at y^e sole expense

of y^e sd University on condition that y^e University do give the sd Parish the sum of £150 towards erecting New Pews in the sd Parish Ch. for the use of y^e sd Parishioners."

The Parishioners have at all times regarded with great jealousy the enforcement of the just claim of the University to have a definite part of the church set apart for their especial use. In 1639 we find "an attempt made by Dr Cosen V. C. to deprive the parish of the mid Isle or Alley," but they resolved not to submit to such usurpation, but to defend their rights and privileges, at the common charge of the parish." In the parish books we see "payd for y^e copley of an order, wherein the Universite claymeth the vse of the church, and y^e parishioners never would condesend to it, 1st 6th."

dows of the rich super-mullioned tracery, represented in Loggan's print, and substitute the meagre intersecting mullions we see at present; which certainly have the merit of admitting more light.²

Ten years after the commencement of these changes, 1745, Cole gives the following sketch of the interior of St. Mary's :—³

“There are 4 beautiful and lofty Pillars which separate the Nave fr' y^e side Isles. The Modern Pulpit and Desk of fine carved Work done by Mr. Essex⁴ which cost y^e University . . . (*sic*) abt 6 years ago, stands at y^e Entrance into y^e Pitt, with a Pair of Stairs in it, y^e Back to y^e Organ, and fronting y^e Vice-Chancellor. The Pitt was done about y^e same Time and y^e old Stones w^{ch} lay in y^e old Pit were then taken up, and laid in various parts of y^e Church, and y^e modern Pit floored and raised a step higher than the Chancel.”

The old curiously carved pulpit, which as we have seen, was erected in 1618, “stood against the South Pillar; but when y^e Galleries were erected by the benefaction of M^r Worts to y^e University round y^e Church against the Pillars, and over y^e two side Isles, it was necessary to remove it or y^e Preacher must have been overlooked.”

He goes on to describe the arrangements of the Chancel, in which we see a better feeling prevailing, and which were,

² Cole ix. 26.

³ We obtain an amusing glimpse of the state of the interior of St. Mary's, in 1714, from the *Music Speech of Roger Long*, Master of Pembroke, recited at the public Commencement, then, to the disgrace of the University, held in this church. The Ladies, it appears, had on previous occasions of this kind, been accommodated in a temporary gallery built for that purpose; but the Vice-Chancellor this time refused them any such convenience, and was determined *cogere cancellis i. e.*, to shut them up in the chancel. The speech opens—

“The humble petition of the Ladies who are ready to be eaten up with spleen, To think they are to be locked up in the Chancel, where they can neither see nor be seen,
But must sit in the dumps, by themselves, all stew'd, and pent up,
And can only peep through the Lattice, like so many chickens in a coop;
Whereas last Commencement the Ladies had a gallery provided near enough To see the Heads sleep, and the Fellow Commoners take snuff.”

Taylor and Long's Music Speeches.

London: J. Nichols, 1819.

⁴ Essex was very much employed in Cambridge about this time, but, unfortunately, his works are for the most part in the insipid Italian taste, then so fatally prevailing. The New Combination Room at Trinity, was one of his works, as well as the Cycloidal Bridge in the grounds. He, too, was guilty of destroying the picturesque gables of Neville's Court, represented in Loggan's view, substituting the flat unbroken parapet which seemed so beautiful in the eyes of that dreary uniformity-loving age. (See Cole's MSS. vol. xxxviii.) His works in the Pointed style, though weak and meagre, show greater appreciation of its character than was general at that time. The Reredos in King's Chapel, and the former Organ Screen at Ely, are among the best examples. The open parapet of the central tower of Lincoln Cathedral also deserves favourable mention. He was employed in the repairs of Ely Cathedral, and advised the chapter to pull down the Galilee and S. W. transept, as being “neither useful nor ornamental,” and so “not worth preserving.” MSS. Essex. Brit. Mus. ii. 261.

in all essential points, the same as in the days of Cosin. The "beautiful and lofty Screen, with a Canopy and Spire Work" still remained "under y^e Noble large Arch," separating the Chancel and Nave, while stalls were arranged along the sides of the Chancel, in two rows, for about half its length, "in which sett only y^e Heads of Colleges, Doctors of all Faculties, Noblemen, Professors, and Bedles." "The Vice-Chancellor sets in y^e 1st Stall on y^e S. Side under y^e Screen, and y^e Heads of Colleges according to their seniority in y^e University by him on the same side. The Noblemen, Bishops, and other Doctors and Professors in y^e Stalls on the N. Side according to their Dignity and Creation." The Eastern portion was divided off by a "door across from the Stalls, and wainscoted all round very high, with handsome Wainscote and a Canopy adorned with Spire work, and 1633⁵ in various Places to shew its Date."

Such, little more than a century ago, was the arrangement of the Chancel of St. Mary's. Would that it had never been altered. But galleries for the undergraduates having been once admitted, the fatal precedent was soon followed, and one was set up for the Heads of the University.

"It has been talked of lately," says Cole, "to alter the Form of y^e Chancell and make it more comodious for y^e Doctors, by *raising yf stalls one above another*, for at present they that sit on y^e lower Range of Stalls on either side are perfectly hid."

If the alteration had been no more than that indicated by Cole, there would have been little fault to find with it. But, on pursuing the history contained in his amusing pages a little farther, we find him recording the erection of that monstrous piece of deformity, which cannot be allowed much longer to encumber our University Church, and render it, in the words of Archdeacon Hare, "an example of the world turned topsy turvey."⁶

Writing in 1757 Cole says, "By the advice and contrivance of my worthy friend James Burrough, late one of y^e Esquier

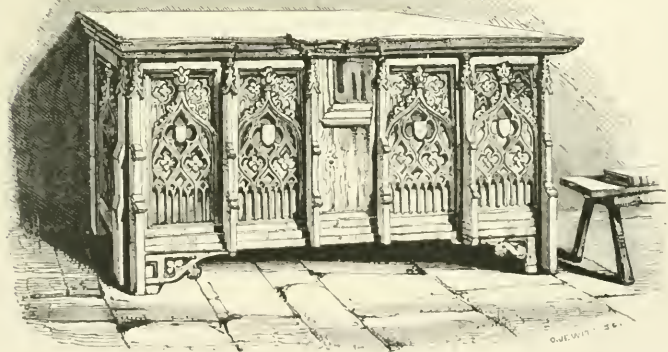
⁵ P. B. 1622. "Trinity College bid out about £12 in beautifying the chancel."

⁶ Charge, 1840, p. 57. "Unfortunately," says he, "a Cambridge-man may deem himself sanctioned in any license he may choose to indulge in, by the strangely anomalous arrangement in St. Mary's; where the chancel is concealed from view by the seat in which the heads

of houses and professors turn their backs on the Lord's Table; where the pulpit stands the central object on which every eye is to be fixed; and where every thing betokens, what is in fact the case, that the whole congregation are assembled solely to hear the preacher. Surely a University church ought not to offer such an example of the *verkehrte welt*."

Bedels, and now Master of Gonville and Caius College, the Chancel is quite altered, and y^e Church appears to much less advantage than it used to look: *for the Stalls and fine Screen are taken down in the Chancell, and a Gallery built with an arched top of Wainscot, highly ornamented indeed with Mosaic carving, but very absurd in y^e Design:* both as the Doctors who sit there are generally old men, sometimes *goutified*, and not well able to get up stairs, *and also are made to turn their Backs on y^e Altar, w^{ch} is not so decent especially in an University.* The old Wainscote is pulled down w^{ch} went all round y^e chancel, and a new one but lower is added, w^{ch} also runs behind y^e Altar Piece, w^{ch} is Plain Wainscote, it is railed in on 3 black steps; there are also sort of Stalls or Benches placed round under y^e Walls and under the said gallery, w^{ch} was thus finished last year."

This, with the exception of the erection of the stone Organ Gallery, about twenty years since, and of the new West Door, in 1850, was the last alteration of any moment in our University church, and with this I may close this paper, with the expression of an earnest hope that such a well-considered and thorough work of repair, restoration, and re-arrangement may soon be set on foot as may bring back the interior of St. Mary's Church to its original dignity and beauty, and render it worthy as well of the ancient University which meets within its walls, as of the noble foundation who are its Patrons and Impropriators.



CARVED OAK CHEST, ST. MARY'S THE GREAT, CAMBRIDGE.

ARTISTIC NOTES ON THE WINDOWS OF KING'S COLLEGE
CHAPEL, CAMBRIDGE.

THE upper part of the walls of King's College Chapel may almost be said to be hung with a series of pictures like ancient tapestry ; so great is the preponderance of painted glass over stone-work.

This effect is most observable from the choir during twilight. As night comes on, certain groups become more prominent, the architectural parts fade, and at last none but the most important figures in each picture remain distinguishable. This affords a happy proof of the breadth of composition, distribution of masses, and significant arrangement of colour in them.

Even the horizontal bars, which exercise so injurious an effect on the compositions in full daylight, cease to offend. These bars, necessary as we understand them to be both for internal and external security, when seen in addition to the lines of leading which unite the pieces of glass, produce a net-work, or rather tangle, so intricate as to bewilder the fresh observer, and require no small attention before the eye can readily and clearly discern the actual forms and colours as designed by the artist. It is a misfortune therefore that these beautiful works of art do not produce a more striking effect at first sight ; most persons leave the chapel without carrying away any distinct impression of them as pictures, except that of two or three individual heads, especially striking for expression, or placed, it may be, somewhat nearer to the eye. When the attention is once roused, and a little perseverance brought to bear upon a particular part, the beauties and peculiarities come forth, and the Art-student will find himself thoroughly rewarded for a little patient application.

Fortunately, the best paintings are all arranged on the south side, so that a full sunlight is almost constantly upon them. The worst glass, and Mr. Bolton has shown us that

many hands were employed in the manufacture, is placed in the north-east part of the chapel, where the sun rarely penetrates, except from within, across the choir through the other windows.

Whether *executed* by English hands or not, the designs bear evidence of a singularly mixed influence of the various continental schools belonging to the first half of the XVIth century. Some are directly German, others Flemish combined with Italian composition; whilst the remainder are in a coarse dark style, containing smaller figures, deficient both in breadth of form and colour, and rendered still worse by deep black shadows.

We know that, during the best period of art in Italy, whilst Raphael was engaged upon his finest works, many Flemings proceeded to Rome and obtained employment in his service. By this means the Italian style was carried to Flanders. All these artists, on their return, adopted his breadth and dignity of composition, both in action and drapery, however deficient they may have still remained in the character and expression of heads and extremities. Mabuse, who was sixteen years younger than Raphael, is mentioned by Vasari as among the first who carried from Italy to Flanders poetical inventions and a correct mode of grouping naked figures.¹ His works are numerous, and many examples may be seen in England; the finest of all, an Adoration of the Magi, at Castle Howard.

Bernard van Orley, born at Brussels in 1490, went to Rome and became the pupil of Raphael, who was seven years his senior. Raphael appointed him to superintend the working of the tapestries at Arras, from his cartoons now at Hampton Court.² Bernard afterwards made many designs for tapestry in the style of his great master. A second series of tapestries from the life of Christ was designed by Raphael for the Vatican, but the cartoons were most probably executed by van Orley. These tapestries are still preserved in the Vatican under the name of the "*Arazzi della scuola nuova*,"³ and closely resemble, both in preservation, style, and execution, the fine tapestries from the history of Abraham, in the Great Hall at Hampton Court. It is believed that

¹ Vasari, vol. iii. p. 1100 of Florentine edition, 1838: vol. v. p. 460 of Bolin's translation.

² Passavant's *Rafael von Urbino*, vol. ii. p. 231.

³ Kugler, p. 366. Passavant, vol. ii. p. 261.

Francis I. commissioned Raphael to make designs for the second Vatican series, having promised a set to the Pope on the occasion of the canonization of S. Francesco di Paolo in 1519. It is not probable however that they were executed before 1523. The accessories and landscapes introduced in them appear to be of an essentially Netherlandish character, a remark equally applicable to the tapestries in the Great Hall at Hampton Court.

Piero Cock, or Pietro Koeck d'Aelst, is mentioned by Vasari in his remarks upon Flemish artists of this period, as especially celebrated for the richness of his invention and compositions.⁴ He made excellent cartoons for tapestry and cloth of Arras; he had great skill and practice as an architect, and even translated Serlio's book on architecture into his native language. The British Museum possesses several original designs by Pietro Koeck; among them a curious drawing for a triptych relating to St. John the Baptist, and five drawings from the history of David, evidently intended for tapestry. The rich architectural features in these designs have a singular affinity to some examples in the Cambridge glass, afterwards to be specified, but the richest and fullest instances of the architectural peculiarities of the cinque-cento may be seen in the exquisite engravings of Dirk Van Staren, whose works are dated from 1522 to 1544.⁵ A spirited engraving, inscribed 1531, is from a design by Bernard van Orley, and represents Margaret of Austria, kneeling, attended by her patron St. Margaret. The architecture connected with it is especially rich.⁶

The engravings by the "Master of the Crab" contain also many peculiarities of costume and drapery observable in the south side of the choir of King's Chapel. He was an original designer, and engraved his own works.⁷ The above examples show transalpine artists under the influence of Italian principles, and but few opposite instances occur of the German style acting upon the Italian.⁸

⁴ Vasari, vol. iv. p. 1100, col. *b*.

⁵ Bartsch, vol. viii. p. 26.

⁶ This very rare engraving, known only by the impression in the British Museum, is a strongly bitten etching, and, from its artistic feeling, attributed by Mr. Carpenter to Van Orley himself. The magnificent painted glass in the choir of St. Jacques, at Liège, executed between 1520 and 1531, contemporaneous with that at Cambridge,

displays the same architectural magnificence. The windows at Gouda, by Dirk Crabbe and others, are very different, both in style and arrangement. They all belong to the second half of the XVIth century.

⁷ I desire to express my thanks to Mr. W. H. Carpenter, for the valuable aid he gave to my researches in the Print Room of the British Museum.

⁸ Such, however, was the case at one

Although we do not know anything with certainty of King's Chapel glass, beyond particular dates and the names of the contractors under the designation "glaziers," their connection with Flemish art will be recognised by all who have inquired into the subject. It may, therefore, be useful to subjoin a passage from Vasari containing the names of the most distinguished Flemish glass-painters of his period.⁹ "In glass and window painting have been many excellent masters in this same country: Art Van—Hort of Nymegen, Borghese of Antwerp, Jacobs Felart, Divick Stas of Campen (probably Dirk van Staren), John Ack of Antwerp, who wrought the windows of S. Gudule of Brussels, and here in Tuscany are two excellent Flemings, Walter and George, who made several most beautiful glass windows for the Duke of Florence from the designs of George Vasari."¹

Lambert Lombard of Liège,² the master of Franz Floris who was called the Flemish Raphael, is particularised by Vasari as far surpassing the rest.³ He was a pupil of Mabuse.

The close relation that was maintained in this country with the continental artists is evident in the fact that Henry VIII. invited both Titian and Raphael to visit this

time with Pontormo, who adopted the peculiarities of Albert Dürer and other German artists in succession. His changeable taste went through a great variety of styles, and some wood-engravings exist of his style of design strongly imbued with the German influence.^a

Sabbatini, Andrea da Salerno, was at one time subject to the German or Flemish taste, if we may trust his picture of the "Visitation" in the Louvre.^b The architectural background is very similar to some parts of the Cambridge windows.

⁹ Vasari, vol. iii. p. 1101. *Di Diversi Artefici Fiamminghi*, vol. iii. 270, of Bolognese edition, 1681.

¹ Those who have visited Arezzo will remember the beautiful painted glass windows in the Cathedral. Guglielmo da Marcilla, their author, was the first instructor of Vasari in the principles of design. Vasari's life of his master contains some valuable observations on the principles and practice of the art in his day.

² The beautiful painted glass in the choir of Lichfield Cathedral is attributed to him; it was brought from a Cistercian

nunnery near Liège, the abbey of Herekenrode, ruined and desecrated in the French revolutionary wars.^c The date of these windows being from 1530 to 1540, is immediately after that of Cambridge.

The fine window of St. Margaret's, Westminster,^d was intended for Henry VII.'s chapel, at Westminster, and manufactured at Dort. It may therefore be regarded as a work contemporary with Bernard Flower. The window was incomplete at the death of Prince Arthur, in 1502, and the glass was given to Waltham Abbey, in Essex, by Henry VIII. who married his brother's widow, Catherine of Aragon, in 1509. Its subsequent history has been often related. Mr. Winston attributes the date 1526 to it. The twenty-five glass windows of Fairford Church in Gloucestershire are known to be Flemish art, for they were captured in 1492 by John Tame, a merchant in a Spanish vessel on her way from a Flemish port to South America.

³ Vasari, p. 1101, col. α, Bohn's edition, vol. v. p. 461. Compare *Hints on Glass-painting*, vol. i. p. 179.

^a See Derschau's collection of wood-engravings.

^b *Annales du Musée*, vol. viii. pl. 31, p. 69.

^c Mrs. Jameson's *Legends Mon. Ord.*, p. 154.

^d Cunningham's *London*, p. 312; *Dallaway*, p. 433; *Hints on Glass-painting*, vol. i. p. 180, note; *Vetusta Monumenta*, 1768.

country for the decoration of his palaces.⁴ He also emulated Francis I. in drawing Primaticcio from his native country. Gerard Horebont of Ghent was painter to Henry VIII., and is mentioned as an excellent miniaturist by Vasari ; he died in London, 1558.⁵

Johannes Corvus, a Fleming, painted the portrait of Bishop Fox now at Oxford ;⁶ and a certain Girolamo da Trevigi was both painter and engineer to the king.⁷ Toto del Nuntiato produced many works in England, for which records of payment are still preserved.⁸ Luca Penni, the brother of the friend and assistant of Raphael, was also much in this country ; and Simon Benich of Bruges also resided in London.

Vasari enumerates several female artists who enjoyed favour and patronage in England.⁹ Among them, Susanna Horebont was invited to England by Henry VIII., and "lived there in great esteem to the end of her days." Clara Skeysers of Ghent also, who died at the age of eighty. Anna, daughter of the physician, Master Segher, and Levina, daughter of Master Simon Benich of Bruges, who was nobly married by the king, much patronised by Queen Mary, and continued in great favour with Queen Elizabeth.

It would exceed my province to discuss how far the term "glasyer," as it stands in the indentures, may denote the practical artist ; whether the man of business who employs others in his factory, or the actual designer. I can only pronounce artistically that, for the greater part, the execution of these paintings is far inferior to the designs, and, from some portions that I have examined, would suppose the original cartoons, or "vidinuses," of the best windows to have emanated from some excellent Flemish artist like Pietro Koeck, Divick Stas, or Bernard van Orley. Looking round the chapel, these paintings are so much made up from various sources recognisable abroad, that but little remains to be claimed by native artists, at least as far as invention is concerned.¹ Some designs of Raphael were used, rather clumsily it is true, but undeniably, in the subject of Ananias ;

⁴ Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*, edited by Dallaway and Wornum, vol. i. p. 60 ; and Dallaway, *Anecdotes of the Arts*, p. 161.

⁵ Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*, edited by Dallaway and Wornum, p. 62, note.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 60, note.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 61, note.

⁹ Vasari, vol. iii. p. 1101 ; Holm's edition, vol. v. p. 463.

¹ It is remarkable that Vasari, who lived at that period, states in his chapter on glass-painting, (*Introduzione*, cap. 32), vol. i. p. 49, that the French, Flemish,





FIGURE 11. LOWER PORTION OF ONE OF THE WINDOWS OF
 THE CHURCH OF ST. ANDREW, AMBRIDGE

indeed, it could hardly have been possible to overlook his compositions, for the works of this great artist were at that very period in the height of their popularity and widely disseminated throughout Europe. The cartoon of the Ananias was designed by Raphael in 1515-16, when the Cambridge windows were scarcely begun; it was engraved by Marc Antonio and Hugo da Carpi, a woodcut by the latter being dated 1518. To render these subjects still more popular in England, a duplicate set of Tapestries from the cartoons, wrought in gold, silver, and silk, had just come over as a present from the Pope to Henry VIII. The connection, however, between the invention of Raphael and the design on the glass may be understood by a reference to the accompanying sketch of the Cambridge window. (Plate I.)

Much of the value of these windows depends on their being regarded as a vast and unbroken series of pictorial illustrations, rendered doubly significant by their relative arrangement exhibiting in juxtaposition parallel events from the Old and New Testament.²

Most monasteries in the middle ages seem to have pro-

and *English*, surpassed the Venetians in clearness and brilliancy of colour.

An opinion has prevailed that Holbein was employed in the design of the windows of King's College chapel.^a He first came to England in 1526, entered the service of the King in 1528, left for Basle on the following year, and in 1530, upon the fall of Wolsey, returned to take up his residence in London.^b His "Dance of Death" was first published at Lyons in 1538. The Bible illustrations also appeared at Lyons in the same year.^c These excellent woodcuts, however, afford several parallels with groups and costumes in the painted glass.

² Great ingenuity and variety were displayed in arrangements of this kind, especially in the picture-books of the fifteenth century; but the system was not merely confined to books and glass windows, it was extended to wall and ceiling decorations on a vast scale.

In early times, even among the Catacomb

paintings, we find the New Testament delineated under the form of the Old; but it was the art of the Middle Ages that set the two side by side.^b The observer was left entirely to make the parallel. St. Bennet, Bishop of Wearmouth, adorned his church with paintings, that all people who entered, though ignorant of letters, might contemplate the amiable aspect of Christ and his Saints. In A.D. 685, he placed in his church of St. Paul at Yarrow, "pictures of the concord of the Old and New Testament, executed with wonderful art and wisdom; for example, the picture of Isaac carrying the wood on which he was to be sacrificed, and Christ bearing the cross on which he was crucified, were placed next to each other; and, in like manner, the serpent lifted up by Moses in the wilderness,^k and the Son of Man lifted up on the cross." Such is the narrative of the Venerable Bede, who died 735, and had himself been the pupil of St. Bennet Bishop.^l

^a Waagen, vol. iii. p. 445.

^b Fortoul, *La Danse des Morts*, Paris, p. 142.

^c Pickering's edition, p. 6.

^d Kugler, p. 10, ed. 1851.

^e Cockerell, *Iconography of Wells Cathedral*, p. xvii.

^k In one window of S. Jacques, at Liège, the Brazen Serpent and the Sacrifice of Isaac are represented in the *same* composition.

^l Bede, *Hist. Abbat. Weremouth*, p. 295.

duced picture Bibles for the benefit of illiterate persons ; and several manuscript copies of such works, containing scenes from the Old and New Testament, placed side by side, are preserved in the British Museum.³ The oldest manuscript specimen I have seen in this collection of the series called the "*Speculum Humanæ Salvationis*," dates about 1320, temp. Ed. II.⁴ It was often repeated, and forms the subject of one of the earliest printed block-books known to exist.⁵ In the manuscripts of this series the subjects are always the same, but strikingly different in design and execution. The order and arrangement, as well as the descriptive text, are never departed from. It is, however, curious to see what a variety of pictorial inventions may be collected under the same title. In the "*Speculum*" each page contains two pictures only, placed side by side, with two columns of text below. (Plate IV.) The pictures are sometimes enclosed within a square border, or slight architectural frame-work. But in another series, called the "*Biblia Pauperum*," three subjects are arranged so as to fill the page, having busts or half figures of prophets connected with the frame-work round them. The text is fitted within the architecture and upon scrolls held by the figures. (Plate V.)

The finest manuscript in the British Museum of the "*Biblia Pauperum*," belongs to the reign of Richard II.⁶ It is of an oblong shape, and the illuminations are richly gilded. The central subject on each page of this series is from the New Testament, and the two side ones from the Old. It forms, in fact, an elaborate commentary on the Life of Christ.⁷

³ A very instructive work by Miss Louisa Twining has been published on this subject, entitled "*Types and Figures of the Bible*."

⁴ Waagen, *Art Treasures*, vol. i. p. 310. Dr. Waagen mentions earlier examples at Vienna and Paris.

⁵ Dr. Waagen says, "Of all the block-books this, the '*Speculum*,' is one that was most widely circulated, although comparatively a later work." Vol. i. p. 311.

⁶ *Bibl. Reg. MS. 5*. See accompanying illustration, pl. II.

⁷ Heineken observed in the church at Bremen a sculpture perfectly identical with the commencement of the *Biblia Pauperum* representing the Annunciation

between the temptation of Eve and Gideon with the Fleece.

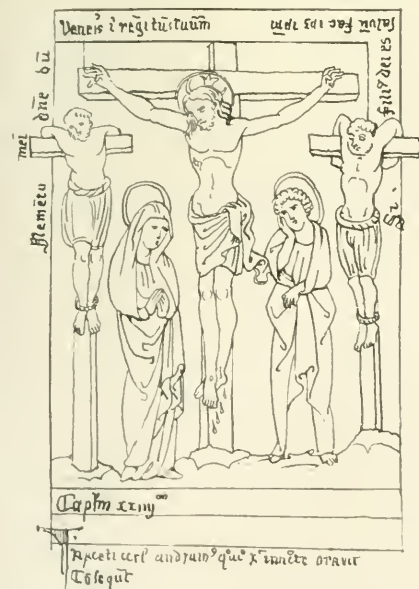
The forty windows of the monastery of Horschau contained a series of subjects minutely corresponding to those of the *Biblia Pauperum*, and some also are to be found in one of the windows of Munich Cathedral.⁸ These book illustrations are supposed by some to be transcripts of designs actually painted on glass. The block-book impressions are taken in a very pale-coloured ink ; and Dr. Waagen assigns the date 1440 at earliest to the first known edition of the *Biblia Pauperum*, a copy of which is now in the *Bibliothèque Impériale* at Paris.⁹ It is the only edition containing fifty pages.

⁸ Outley, *Hist. Engr.* vol. i. Hints on Glass painting, vol. i. p. 352, note.

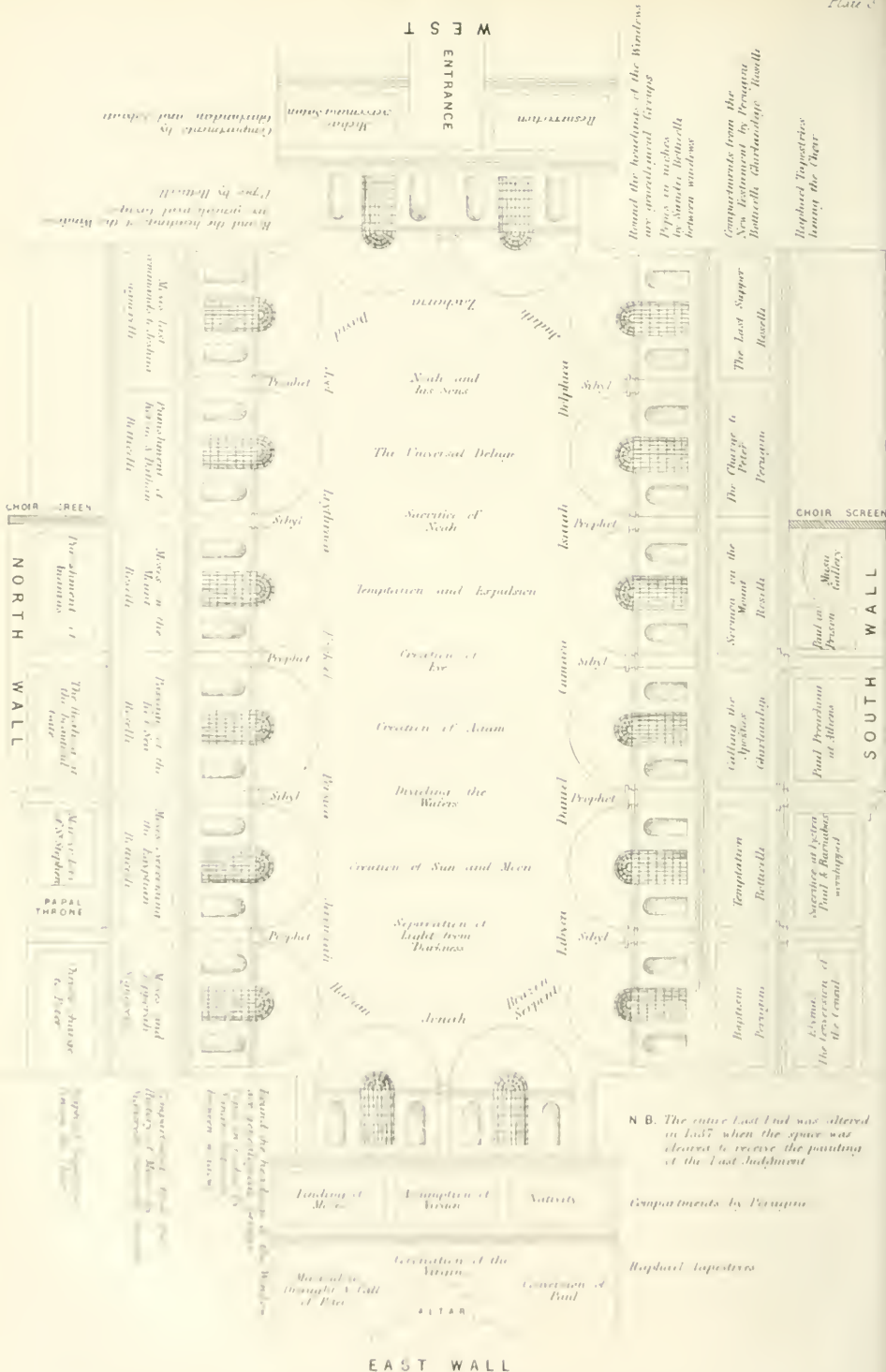
⁹ Waagen, vol. i. p. 302.



PAGE OF "BIBLIA PAUPERUM" BIBL. REG. MS. 5. DATE CLOSE OF 14TH CENTURY



UPPER PART OF PAGE OF SPECULUM HUMANA SALVATIONIS M S N° 16578 DATE 1379



SYNOPSIS OF THE DECORATIONS OF THE SISTINE CHAPEL.

Arranged by G. Schaff, Junr. F.S.A., F.R.S.L.

A manuscript Office of the Virgin containing a series of pictures by Giulio Clovio, arranged as type and antitype, contributes materially to this branch of our subject. It was executed for Pope Paul III.⁸ The book itself, has been transferred with other Farnese treasures to Naples. It was written by Monterchi. Fortunately Vasari, in his life of Don Giulio Clovio, gives a very minute account of the illuminations and their arrangement, so that, when requisite, we shall avail ourselves of his authority, and compare them with the parallels of the Cambridge windows, the "Biblia" and "Speculum." In the "Biblia Pauperum," the prophets and sibyls appear ornamentally; but very subordinately. (Plate V.) Their introduction in a prominent position among the mural decorations by Perugino in the Sala del Cambio at Perugia,⁹ may be regarded as an innovation and directly preparing for the sublime creations of Michael Angelo in the Sistine chapel. They were painted in 1500, and Perugino is said to have been assisted in his work by the youthful Raphael, especially in the figures of the Libyan and Erythrean sibyls.¹ The compartments on the ceiling contained the seven planets, each seated in a chariot according to the style then prevailing.²

The arrangement of the subjects on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, begun by Michael Angelo in 1509, affords the most extensive cycle of architectural decoration in existence. When viewed with the paintings of his predecessors on the side walls, and the subsequently added tapestries of Raphael, they afford a complete scope of the Redemption of Mankind. As the subject of type and antitype has already engaged so much of our attention, it may here suffice to present a Synopsis of the entire decoration of the chapel, remarking only, that the flat ceiling is occupied exclusively with the Creation of the world, the Fall, the Deluge, and God's promise to Noah.³ The prophets and sibyls are architecturally distributed along the curved surface of the ceiling, whereas Perugino had classed his together. Groups denoting the genealogy of the Virgin fill intermediate spaces. With the exception of the Last Judgment, no works of Michael Angelo descend lower than the heading of the windows. (Plate III.)

⁸ Alessandro Farnese, who ascended the papal throne in 1534, and died in 1550.

⁹ Rio, English Translation, pp. 173, 176.

¹ Murray's Handbook, Central Italy, p. 224.

² Vasari, Bohn's edition, vol. ii. p. 319.

³ See accompanying Plate of Synopsis of Sistine Chapel—Plate III.

The square compartments beneath the windows display scenes from the Old and New Testament by the masters of Raphael and Michael Angelo ; and during the reign of Leo Xth, the lowest wall-space was enriched with tapestries illustrating the Acts of the Apostles, woven from the cartoons prepared by Raphael, which are now at Hampton Court.⁴ The most remarkable instances of correspondence in the Sistine Chapel, may be observed among the subjects on the east wall, where "The Finding of Moses" is connected with "The Birth of Christ," and the tapestries beneath of "The Calling of St. Peter," and "The Conversion of St. Paul:" portraying in each the commencement of a mission. "Christ's Sermon on the Mount" faces "Moses on the Mount;" the tapestry of "St. Paul preaching on Mars' Hill" is also hung in close relation to them. "Christ overcoming Satan" is opposite to "Moses overcoming the Egyptian;" and "The Adoration of Christ by Angels in the Temptation Scene," is connected with the tapestry of "Paul and Barnabas worshipped as Gods." "The punishment of Korah, Dathan and Abiram" is immediately under the ceiling picture of "The punishment of Mankind by the Deluge," and closely connected with it is the tapestry of "The Death of Ananias." "The Passage of the Israelites" is placed nearly under "The Gathering of the Waters." "The Resurrection" has for its corresponding subject "Michael victorious over Satan concerning the body of Moses." "The elevation of Haman" corresponds with "The elevation of the Brazen Serpent," and in like manner "David killing Goliath" agrees with "Judith and Holofernes," both being acts of decapitation and deliverance. It may also be remarked, that the subjects, relating to the "Creation" and "The expulsion from Paradise," extend no further along the ceiling than the length of the choir. A similar distinction of decoration is also observable in most of our cathedrals. The three compartments of "Noah," in which the figures are on a smaller scale, cover the outer portion of the chapel, called the vestibule, or ante-chapel. On the same principle also, it may be observed that the events of our Lord's active

⁴ Those who desire minute information upon the arrangement of the paintings in this Chapel, and the employment of types, may advantageously consult Sir Charles Eastlake's learned notes to "Kugler's

Handbook of Italian Painting," which have been reprinted in his "Literature of the Fine Arts," pp. 272 and 282 ; see also Bunsen's "Beschreibung der Stadt Rom," vol. ii. p. 251.

life, from the Baptism to the Ascension, are confined to the choir windows at Cambridge, whilst those of the vestibule are devoted to His infancy, the acts of the Apostles and Blessed Virgin.

When Raphael designed the Prophets and Sibyls at Rome, for S. Maria della Pace, he grouped them in two different compartments,⁵ probably remembering the arrangement of his master at Perugia. At a later period he designed the entire decoration for the Chigi Chapel at Rome, and like Perugino, he introduced the planets on the domed ceiling. These he disposed in a most beautiful and novel manner. Each planet was represented as yielding to the influence of a Christian angel, and the centre of all was occupied with a majestic half figure, personifying the Almighty. Scenes from the Creation, Temptation, and Fall, were arranged in square compartments round the wall supporting the dome. Beneath these again, in spandrels of the great arches, were the four Evangelists, and statues of the Prophets were architecturally placed in niches between the pillars that supported them. These arrangements betray the influence of Michael Angelo, for although painted entirely in fresco, the Sistine figures are perfectly statuesque in treatment, and architectural in position.⁶

With this I must close the remarks upon foreign pictorial arrangements, and devote the remaining space to an artistic examination of the merits of our more immediate subject, the Cambridge windows.

I have no practical acquaintance with the methods peculiar to working on glass, or the difficulties therewith connected; my subsequent remarks are prompted solely by pictorial considerations; and if I venture to speak of colour or manipulation, it is only in the same manner that I would adopt in criticising a picture of the Venetian school, where glazing (transparent) colours are employed.

The great mullion down the centre of each subject is very injurious to the composition, and contrasts disadvantageously with the effect of earlier glass,⁷ where all such

⁵ The compartment containing the Sibyls was painted by his own hand, and has been often engraved. The other containing the Prophets, executed from Raphael's designs by Timoteo della Vite, is less known.

⁶ Raphael did not live to finish his grand undertaking: one statue only, the

Jonah, remains, to show his power as a sculptor; the rest were completed by inferior hands, and the lower part of the chapel sadly altered from the original design.

⁷ See Hints on Glass-painting, vol. i. p. 146.

breaks were avoided, and each main light contained a subject *complete in itself*. These paintings, therefore, have the effect of being hung *behind* the stone-work of the window, and it does not appear as if great pains had always been bestowed in their arrangement, for in some instances important parts of the figures have been concealed. A disagreeable effect is also produced by the intersecting horizontal bars, called saddle bars, which divide the lights into regular squares, and these again contrast unfavourably with the older mode of conducting the leading round the most prominent lights, so as to bring its blackness to fall in the deepest shadows. The eye is frequently disturbed by a long black line running through the brightest and broadest light of a piece of drapery; but for the most part these bars are so disposed as not to interfere with the heads or minute features.⁸

In the following notes, I shall generally adopt Mr. Bolton's opinions, and gladly avail myself of his practical knowledge as a glass-painter. Indeed, what I have to say, is only offered in the light of a supplementary chapter.

The question of the relative dates of these paintings cannot with our present amount of information be satisfactorily determined. It will be evident for the most part that they were not executed in any regular order with

⁸ At the very outset I noticed these peculiarities, because they naturally strike the observer at the first glance, and often produce so disagreeable an effect as to deter him from further examination. Even after considerable study, it is very difficult to forget the interference of the great mullions, and to comprehend the breadth and unity that really belongs to these compositions. The designs must have been seen to perfection in the original cartoons.

In the style of architecture preceding the perpendicular period the upper part of the windows was characterised by beautifully flowing divisions of stone-work called tracery. The intervening spaces of glass were therefore capriciously irregular, and as they generally required to be filled

with paintings, mostly of figure subjects, the artist had serious difficulties to contend with. Such difficulties may be seen in the upper lights yet remaining of the great east window of Carlsle Cathedral, representing the Last Judgment. Every compartment contained a figure or group requiring to be so arranged in a "given space," as perfectly to suit it without giving any appearance of constraint or distortion. This was oftentimes a tough problem to the artist even of those days.*

The designers of King's Chapel windows were freed from the above-named difficulties; the spaces they had to fill were rectangular and uniform, and the entire shape of the composition was square, like in tapestries.

* The groups in the quatrefoil compartments on the west-front of Wells Cathedral are also triumphant examples of sculptured design under similar difficulties. They contain subjects from the Book of Genesis and the Life of Christ,

together with a series of angels in smaller compartments of the same form. Several of these excited the admiration of Flaxman, and have been published in his lectures.

reference to their destined position ; for contiguous pictures in the same window occasionally afford the strongest contrast in point of style, whilst other pictures, exhibiting a uniform treatment and execution, are very widely separated.

I perceive in the main three distinct classes :—

I. Windows which display the Albert Dürer style, with full flat surfaces of architecture, predominance of horizontal ceilings and entablatures, large round arches viewed in full, with deep shadow under them, connected with columns or pilasters, used merely for purposes of support. The figures are large, with broadly disposed folds, and the draperies, which float in the air, are curled and ornamentally arranged.⁹

II. A series of richer and darker subjects, altogether colder in tone, and more crowded with figures. In this may be recognised the influence of Holbein and of Bernard van Orley, after he had studied under Raphael. The landscapes have affinity in taste to that of the “*Spasimo di Sicilia*,” and to some subjects in the cupole of the Loggie. The buildings have a palatial appearance, the columns are straight, with tall round shafts and classic capitals and bases. Towers are circular and perfectly upright ; the windows in them, and in the side-buildings, are round-headed, containing within the framework two round-headed lights, and a circular one over them. In some instances perfectly square and circular windows are introduced ; and a tall square campanile in one subject decidedly points to the classic buildings of the south. The floating draperies are rare, but when they occur are much more angular.

III. Are still darker, and evince a direct German influence

⁹ Finding Six windows so completely together, and so distinct from the rest, I think they may reasonably be assigned to the number specified in the fifth indenture, dated April 30th, 1526, for immediate completion within a year from that time.

Whilst these six windows were being rapidly executed, the designs for the remaining twelve were no doubt advanced with much care. The east window confirms this. On passing from that end of the chapel, in search of a continuation of the style, the eye rests upon three windows between the choir screen and the

south entrance. They display great vigour of conception, propriety of action, and excellent arrangement of drapery, and are identical with the east window. Many shadows of the flesh are as highly finished as in most oil paintings by Giulio Romano, whilst the colours of the dresses and background generally are pure, but so happily blended and proportioned as to take off any appearance either of gaudiness, to which the south-choir windows too much incline, or the dull cold tone of those on the north, which are rendered still sadder by the perpetual want of sun to enliven them. They form Class II.

of the older school, combined with some affinity to the Milanese forms of Da Vinci and Luini. In these windows, green, purple, and blue, prevail. The floating draperies are elaborately gathered up and very angular.

From these classes I must except the curious paintings on the north side, the window over the door, and the subjects relating to the "Agony, Betrayal and Mocking of Christ."

It is most probable that the windows of the south side, and especially the choir, would be the first glazed, not only for display, but from need of protection from the sun-light. And here, on the south, will be found a uniform unbroken series of six complete windows, evidently by the same designer and workmen, and unlike any others around them. They form Class I., and contrast strikingly with the East window which belongs to Class II.

A similar, but less extensive uniformity, may be observed in certain windows towards the west end, namely,—the two last on the south side, the last on the north, and the next window but one eastward, containing the "Annunciation."¹

The window over the north porch, containing the "Marriage of the Virgin," is different in the proportion of its compartments from the rest. Two horizontal bands of half figures of angels are introduced, by which means the vertical spaces are much curtailed, and the figures rendered altogether smaller. The draperies are angular, but simple and well arranged, partaking more of the early Florentine character, with minute attention also to the costume of the painter's time, which seems to have been about the close of the XVth century. The simple disposition of the figures and their action closely resemble Vittore Carpaccio, the Venetian, who flourished at this period. In the bordering to the "Marriage of the Virgin," small angels appear with musical instruments, and the spaces formed by the interlacing framework are filled with angels supporting shields.

The upper left-hand subject is more intense in colour, and differs in tone from the one below it. It affords a singular instance of adaptation from well-known publications of the time.

The subject is "The Offering of the Golden Table in the

¹ As the church was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, it is not improbable that the windows relating to her especially (and such are the most westerly ones), were

executed at an early period. The style of glass accords with this supposition. They belong to Class III.

Temple of the Sun ;" and occurs invariably in all the versions of the "Speculum Humanæ Salvationis."² (See Illustrations on next page.)

² The old print in the Block-Book (fol. 9, c. v.) has been literally copied with regard to the general composition of the two men and the idol with its banner and sun-shield. The altar, however, is much richer, and a more imposing figure has been substituted for the high priest. In the distance also the two men are seen approaching with the table. The accompanying sketches from the Block-Book, fol. 9, and the Cambridge Window, will enable the reader to judge for himself of the relation between them. A black crescent is on the blue flag held by the idol, and upon the front of the canopy over it the words, *M̄A·REDEMPTORIS·M̄ATĒ*.

The text of the Block-Book, fol. 9, col. b., says,—

"Pulchre Maria est per mensā solis pre-
figurata,
Quia per eam celestis esca nobis est
collata ;
Nam ipsa filium Dei Ihesum Christum
nobis generavit,
Qui nos suo corpore et sanguine refocil-
lavit.
Benedicta sit ista beatissima mensa :
Per quam collata est nobis esca tam salu-
bris et tam immensa !

In the illuminations of the MSS. this

incident is variously represented. In Harl. 3240, fol. 8, b, (date about 1320), a man sits at a yellow table before the entrance to the temple, and a round face of the sun appears in an arch above. Inscribed in red, is "*Mensa quaedam in mari inventa offertur in templum solis*," and in black, "*Jeronimus in prologo super Genesim*." In Harl. 4996, fol. 8, (date about 1330), two youths stand holding a net containing the table ; two fish are in the water, inscribed, *Pyseator* and *Piscator*. The sun above has angular rays round the face like a star. The title is "*Mensa Solis in Sabulo offertur in templo Solis*."

In Sloane, MS. 361, fol. 8, b, a curious bold illumination of two men finding the table in the sand, a round face of the sun, without rays ; between it and the figures, "*Mensa solis in zabulo*." In Additional MS. 16578 fol. 7, a, (inscribed with date 1379, on fol. 51 b) are two men, as fishermen, seated on opposite sides of a green sea, holding a net with the table in it. The legend "*Mensa Solis in Sabulo inventa est, in templo Solis*," "*Piscatores*." In Sloane MS. 3451, a small volume, the outlines are quite childish, in brown ink. On fol. 17, two young men hold the net ; one treads on a fish.

GEORGE SCHARF, JUN.

(To be continued.)



From a window over the North Porch, King's College Chapel, Cambridge.



From the "Speculum Humanae Salvationis."

The Offering of the Golden Table in the Temple of the Sun.



hic annuntiat ille p̄ angelū uirginī marie

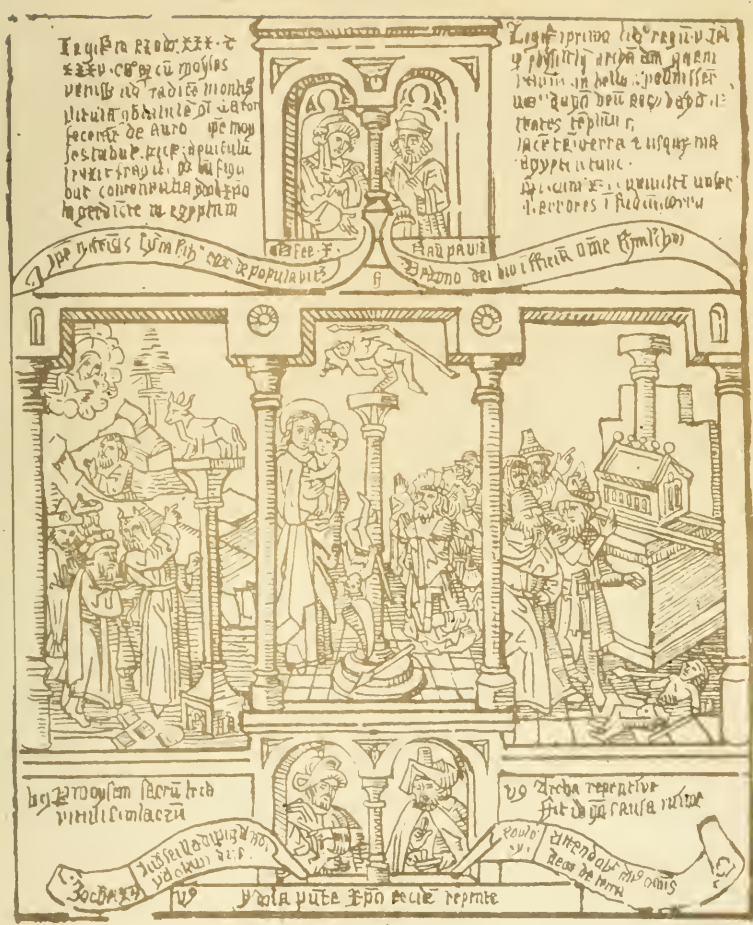
Uas apparuit moysi in rubo ardenti

Quia deo capto audimur marie de sp̄sa d̄ps
Ede q̄ andrāne ixi? nubile p̄gnatione
Quis maria i iherosolymis eent dep̄sata
Ad domū parentū hazareth ē reuocata
Interi atē q̄ ioseph uas nupcias itētebat
Ipso nesciente maria ysp̄it s̄nt q̄p̄iebat
Hoc e sup̄ici uirū ē sū ea uirū hūbūit uat
Hec tap̄a s̄nt diuina sola curiose diuigabatur
Ip̄sa sicut fara filia raquel x̄n̄stip uir d̄s lit
Nec t̄p̄ h̄m̄ar cū uir h̄siliat iusabat
Ip̄sa sicut solitaria iudith f̄m̄as uir d̄siliat
Et sicut ioseph guida ea uideris stupēbat
Et t̄p̄s tremēs hoc ap̄d m̄re reuoluebat
Impossibile ē h̄c p̄ fornicationē accepisse
Nō ḡrat ea h̄c ea casta abstinet q̄ uixisse
Nō erat genessatē nō salitrix nō salitrix nō delictosa
Nō coruētrix nō uagatrix nō iocosa
Publica loca sp̄uebat a p̄u potuit s̄uebat
Solitaria uita ē ḡp̄atā s̄ h̄uebat
T̄m̄ i mūdāa t̄r̄s diuinis et celestibus delectat
Et n̄spos̄ ad d̄m̄ p̄tā repatratit

Lucē p̄ cap̄o

Si i cubiculo clausa i op̄ibus pleue eluti
Sū igit post h̄c ḡcep̄at ḡn̄tarianē
Que nūq̄ alieui p̄cor dedit occasione
Forsū i ea ip̄sā a n̄t i s̄t p̄uue uatichū
Ecce uirgo cōcipiet et pariet filiū
Hecce forte illa de s̄c̄ne dauid pulla
Quia ip̄s s̄c̄s d̄s i os badaū p̄uouit i bella
In quo sp̄s s̄c̄s d̄s i os badaū uolebat
Ip̄e d̄ uatichū egressura de radice yesse
Hec uirgo p̄uq̄ for̄s illa uir gl̄orifera esse
Que uatichū egressura de radice yesse
Aliud at̄ negūm uirḡn de qua sp̄s nascetur
Mo d̄ lena filiū annū yesse nascetur? p̄hibet
Ip̄o circa certissimū q̄ ip̄a m̄r x̄ p̄i est
Ip̄t exp̄dit michi a splendore nuptia ihibere
Ip̄a p̄ forte aliq̄ suspicio frustra ariatur
Ip̄e ne occulte et ualido cante diuulgate
Ip̄aret ut occulte i q̄ ip̄a m̄r x̄p̄i est
Ioseph i iugū eum reputās cū uirḡ habitare
Ip̄e i iugū q̄ nō fuit aut̄ sp̄m̄ baptizate
Ip̄e rogauit eū d̄ m̄i sua exuet
Sic ioseph i habitationē matris dei marie

Exodi t̄ra cel̄o



SKETCH OF PAGE OF THE BLOCK BOOK BIBLIA PAUPERUM

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF PARALLELS.

THAT OCCUR IN THE KING'S COLLEGE CHAPEL WINDOWS, THE BIBLIA PAUPERUM, THE SPECULUM HUMANÆ SALVATIONIS, AND OFFICE OF THE VIRGIN BY GIULIO CLOVIO.

| | | | |
|---|---------------------------|---|---|
| { | K.C.C. | The Birth of the Virgin. | |
| | B.P. No. 1. (5th edition) | Do. | Balaam.—Jesse tree. |
| { | K.C.C. | Offering of Golden Table.—Presentation of Virgin. | |
| | S.H.S. Ch. 5. No. 9. | Do. | Do. |
| { | K.C.C. | Marriage of Tobias.—Marriage of Virgin. | |
| | S.H.S. Ch. 6, No. 11. | Do. | Do. |
| | B.P. No. 2. (5th ed.) | Do. | Do. |
| | | | Marriage of Isaac and Rebecca. |
| { | K.C.C. | Temptation of Eve. | Annunciation. |
| | B.P. No. 1. | Do. | Do. |
| | S.H.S. Ch. 7. No. 13. | Moses and Burning Bush.—Do. | Gideon and the Fleece. |
| | O.V. | The Prophet Isaiah.—Angel of Annunciation. | |
| { | K.C.C. | Moses and Burning Bush.—The Nativity. | |
| | B.P. No. 2. | Do. | Do. |
| | S.H.S. Ch. 8, No. 15. | Cupbearer's Dream. | Aaron's Rod flowering. |
| | O.V. | The Fall. | Do. |
| { | K.C.C. | Circumcision of Abraham.—Circumcision of Christ. | |
| | B.P. No. 6. (5th ed.) | Do. | Do. |
| | | | Circumcision of Isaac. |
| { | K.C.C. | Adoration of Magi.—Queen of Sheba. | |
| | B.P. No. 3. | Do. | Do. |
| | S.H.S. Ch. 9, No. 17. | Do. | Abner visiting David. |
| | O.V. | Do. | Magi seeing the Star. |
| | | | Queen of Sheba. |
| { | K.C.C. | Purification of Women.—Purification of Virgin. | |
| | B.P. No. 4. | Presentation of First-born. | Do. |
| | | | Presentation of Samuel. |
| { | K.C.C. | Flight into Egypt.—Jacob flying from Esau. | |
| | B.P. No. 5. | Do. | Do. |
| | | | Rebecca sending—David descending her son to Laban. from the window. |
| | S.H.S. Ch. 11, No. 21. | Do., and Fall of Idols.—Egyptians adoring image of Virgin. | |
| | O.V. | Do. | Pharaoh and host overthrown. |
| { | K.C.C. | Destruction of idols in Egypt.—Golden Calf. | |
| | B.P. No. 6. | Do. | Do. |
| | | | Dagon falling before the Ark. |
| | S.H.S. Ch. 11, No. 21. | Flight and destruction of Idols.—Egyptians adoring image of Virgin. | |
| { | K.C.C. | Massacre of the Innocents.—Joash saved from Athaliah. | |
| | B.P. No. 7. | Do. | Do. |
| | | | Abimelech and—Death of Sons priests slain. |
| | | | of Eli. |
| { | K.C.C. | The Baptism.—Naaman. | |
| | S.H.S. Ch. 12, No. 23. | Do. | Do. |
| | B.P. No. 9. | Do. | Laver of Brass. |
| | S.H.S. Ch. 12. No. 24. | Do. | Do. |
| | | | Passage of the Red Sea.—Spies bearing fruit. |
| | | | Do. |

- { K.C.C. Temptation.—Esau tempted.
 B.P. No. 10. Do. Do. Temptation of Adam and Eve.
 S.H.S. Ch. 13, No. 25. Do. Daniel destroying image of Bel and the Dragon
- { K.C.C. Entry into Jerusalem.—Triumph of David.
 B.P. No. 14. Do. Do. Children of Prophets meeting Elijah.
 S.H.S. Ch. 15, No. 29. Entry into Jerusalem.—Jeremiah lamenting.
 S.H.S. Ch. 15, No. 30. Triumph of David.—Heliodorus.
- { K.C.C. Lazarus.—Elisha.
 B.P. No. 11. Do. Do. Widow's Son.
 O.V. Lazarus—Triumph of Death.
- { K.C.C. Last Supper.—Manna.
 B.P. No. 18. Do. Do. Melchisedec meeting Abram.
 S.H.S. Ch. 16, No. 31. Do. Do.
 O.V. Passover. Do.
- { K.C.C. The Agony. Fall of Lucifer.
 B.P. No. 20. Christ in the Garden, the Do. Five Foolish Virgins.
 soldiers fallen back.
 S.H.S. Ch. 17, No. 33. Do. Samson killing the Philistines.
- { K.C.C. The Betrayal.—Cain killing Abel.
 B.P. No. 21. Do. Abner killed by Joab.—Jonathan taken captive
 S.H.S. Ch. 18, No. 35. Do. Do.
 S.H.S. Ch. 18, No. 36. David before Saul.—Cain killing Abel.
- { K.C.C. Christ mocked.—Shimei cursing David.
 B.P. No. 23. Do. Noah and his Sons.—Children mocking Elijah.
 S.H.S. Ch. 19, No. 37. Do. Hur insulted by the Jews.
 S.H.S. Ch. 19, No. 38. Ham mocking Noah. The Philistines mocking Samson when blind.
- { K.C.C. The Flagellation.—Job tormented.
 B.P. No. 28. (5th ed.) Do. Do. Lamech tormented by his Wives.
 S.H.S. Ch. 20, No. 39. The Flagellation.—The Prince Achior tied to a tree.
 S.H.S. Ch. 20, No. 40. Job tormented.—Lamech tormented.
- { K.C.C. Christ crowned.—Solomon crowned.
 B.P. No. 23. Do. Ham mocking Noah.—Children mock-
 ing Elijah.
 S.H.S. Ch. 21, No. 41. Christ crowned with thorns.—A Concubine transferring
 a crown to her own head.
 B.P. No. 29. (5th ed.) Christ crowned—A Concubine transferring—Shimei insult-
 with thorns. a crown to her own head. ing David.
- { B.P. No. 25. Crucifixion.—Sacrifice of Isaac.—The Brazen Serpent.
 B.P. No. 26. Do. Creation of Eve.—Moses striking the rock.
 O.V. Do. Elevation of the Brazen Serpent.
 S.H.S. Ch. 24, No. 47. Do. Nebuchadnezzar's dream.
- { K.C.C. Pieta—Naomi lamenting.
 B.P. No. 36. (5th ed.) Do. Do. Adam and Eve lamenting.
 S.H.S. No. 50. Do. Do.
 S.H.S. No. 51. Do. The Burial of Abner.
- { K.C.C. The Entombment.—Joseph put into the Well.
 B.P. No. 27. Do. Do. Jonah cast into the sea.
 S.H.S. No. 52. Jonah swallowed by a whale.—Joseph put into the well.
- { K.C.C. Deliverance from Hell.—The Exodus.
 B.P. No. 28. Do. David killing Goliath.—Samson killing lion.
 S.H.S. No. 53. Do. The Exodus.

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|---|----------------|--|----------------------------------|--|
| { | K.C.C. | The Resurrection.—Jonah and the Whale. | | |
| | B.P. No. 29. | Do. | Do. | Samson with gates. |
| | S.H.S. No. 55. | Do. | | Do. |
| | O.V. No. 55. | Do. | Do. | Do. |
| | S.H.S. No. 56. | Jonah delivered from the Whale.—The Corner Stone. | | |
| | K.C.C. | Christ appearing to His Mother.—Tobias returning home. | | |
| { | K.C.C. | The Maries at the Sepulchre.—Reuben seeks Joseph in the pit. | | |
| | B.P. No. 30. | Do. | Do. | The Daughter of Sion seeking for her Spouse. |
| { | K.C.C. | Christ appearing to—Daniel in the | | |
| | | Mary Magdalene. | lions' den. | |
| | B.P. No. 31. | Do. | Do. | The Daughter of Sion discovering her Spouse. |
| { | K.C.C. | Christ appearing to Disciples.—Joseph meeting Jacob. | | |
| | B.P. No. 32. | Do. | Joseph dis- covering himself. | Return of the Prodigal. |
| { | K.C.C. | Incredulity of Thomas.—The Prodigal Son. | | |
| | B.P. No. 33. | Do. | Gideon and Angel. | Jacob wrestling with Angel. |
| { | K.C.C. | Ascension.—Elijah. | | |
| | B.P. No. 34. | Do. | Do. | Enoch. |
| { | K.C.C. | Descent of the Holy Ghost.—Delivery of the Law. | | |
| | B.P. No. 35. | Do. | Do. | Fire consuming Elijah's sacrifice. |
| | O.V. | Descent of the Holy Ghost.—Tower of Babel. | | |
| { | K.C.C. | Coronation of Virgin Mary.—Solomon and Bathsheba. | | |
| | O.V. | Do. | Esther crowned by Ahasuerus. | |
| | B.P. No. 36. | Do. | Do. | Solomon and Bathsheba. |

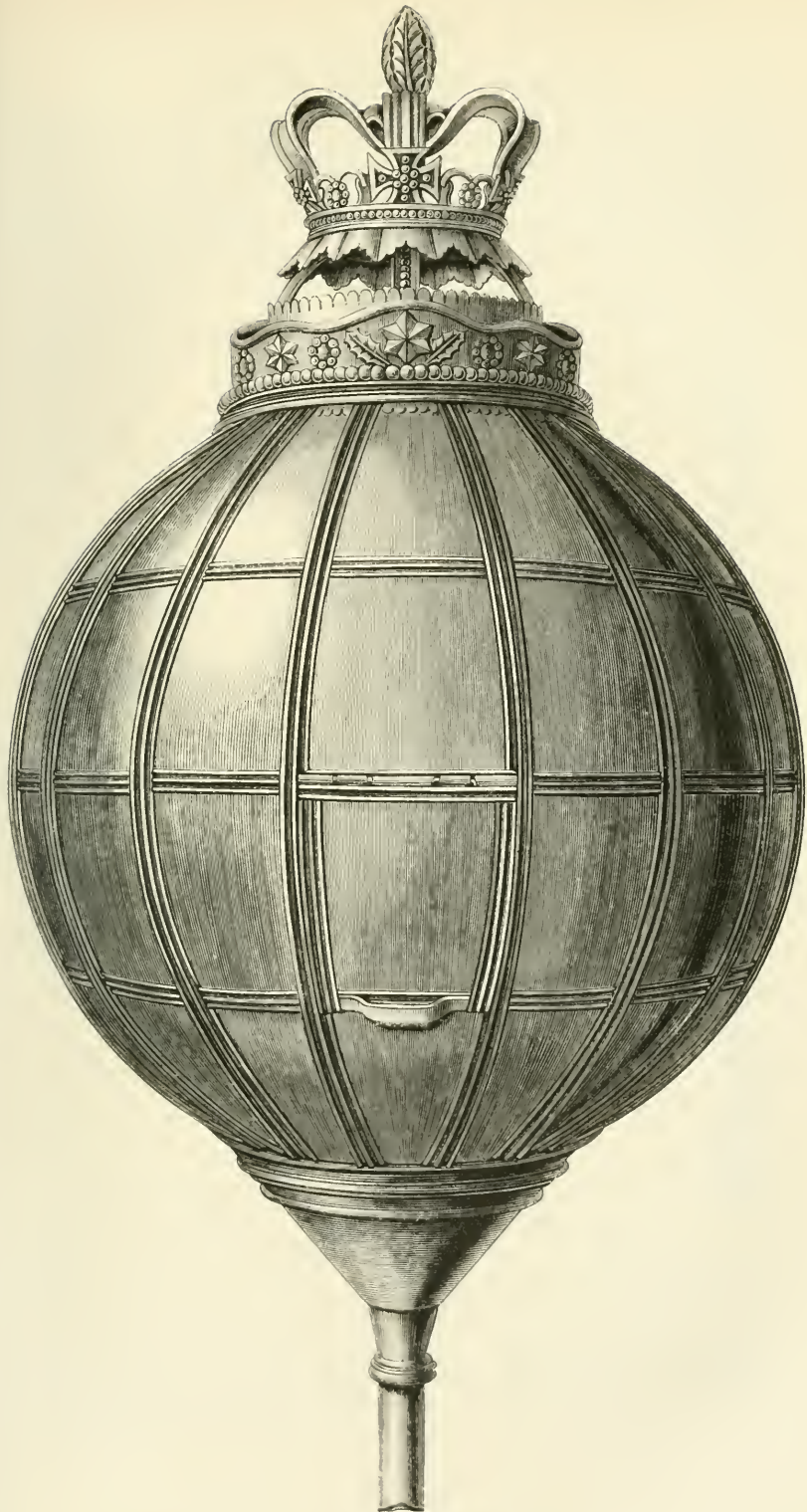
NOTE.—In preparing this table, I have always had before me the beautiful copies of the block-books in the Grenville Library of the British Museum. They are almost the only impressions known in perfect state and free from colouring. The notes of the edition of the "Biblia," at Paris, which contains fifty folia, and is the only copy known, I have taken from Ottley's History of Engraving. In his work, vol. I., page 131, it is called the 5th edition. Dr. Waagen, vol. I., page 302, regards it as the oldest, and assigns the date 1440 to it. The two plates I have introduced representing pages of the "Biblia" and "Speculum" are only *sketches* to show the general appearance and arrangement of these early block-books. They are not intended precisely as copies.

GEORGE SCHARF, JUN.

NOTICE OF A RELIQUE OF OLD MUNICIPAL CEREMONY,
PRESERVED AT CHICHESTER.

OF the pomp and circumstance with which, in old times, our municipal Institutions were surrounded, great part will soon be remembered only amongst the curiosities of antiquarian research. The subject of the following brief notice may possibly appear to some readers of this Journal too trivial, or of insufficient antiquity to claim attention. The chronicles, however, of civic state in the corporate towns of England, and the accessories which gave impressive solemnity to the functions of civic authority, in the so-called "good old times," are not without interest to us, intimately associated as they are with the growth of Institutions which have exercised at all times an important influence on the social conditions of this country, and on the development of commercial enterprise.

During the meeting of the Institute at Chichester, in 1852, a remarkable vestige of municipal state, as formerly maintained in that city, was brought to light, and excited considerable attention in the Museum formed on that occasion. It was a huge globular lantern, once well known to the citizens as the "Moon," which, with its companion luminary of somewhat larger size, designated as the "Sun," were the accustomed precursors of the Worshipful Mayor and his solemn company, whenever occasion called them forth by night, through streets in which modern arrangements for convenience and security were as yet unknown. Although now many years eclipsed from view, it is yet remembered how in the winter months, these satellites were even wont to await at the entrance of the choir the close of evening service at the Cathedral, and to accompany the Mayor through the nave and along the dark cloister, on his customary visit to the bishop at that hour. The "Moon," of which a representation, prepared by the skilful hand of Mr. Henry Shaw, is here given, measured about 26 inches in diameter; it was carried on a pole about three feet in



Lantern of State, known as "The Moon."

Formerly carried before the Mayor of Chichester.



length (see woodcut) ; the lantern being of plates of horn set in a light frame of metal, and surmounted by an arched crown. There were six lights within ; the "Sun," tradition states, was a luminary of somewhat statelier dimensions and more powerful radiance.¹

I have been unable to ascertain the period when these great lights first accompanied the civic orbit ; or whether a similar usage prevailed in other towns ; it may, however, be safely concluded that such was the case from an early time. It will be remembered that, according to Stow, some regulations for lighting the streets of the Metropolis had been made in 1416, when the Mayor, Sir Henry Barton, "ordained lanthornes with lights to bee hanged out on the Winter evenings, betwixt Hallontide and Candlemasse."² It is very doubtful, however, whether any effectual provisions were carried out in London at so early a period, and in other large towns in England it is probable that no like arrangements had been proposed before the close of the XVIIth century. Paris was not lighted until 1524 ; *falots* or cressets filled with pitch, &c., were then placed at the corners of the streets ; and in 1662 the provision was so imperfect, that an exclusive privilege was granted to an Italian Abbé to supply men bearing links and lanterns for coaches and foot passengers at a reasonable cost. In 1668, an endeavour was made to render the regulations in London more effectual, but it was not until 1736 that the authority of Parliament was obtained to remedy an evil which had given perilous facilities for nightly plunder and disorders.

I have sought to ascertain whether civic authorities in other great towns were attended by any luminous satellite, as at Chichester. At Folkstone, indeed, I found a curious lantern in the town-hall, formerly



¹ Precisely such a lantern, triumph of the craft of the Horner, anciently so noted in England, was the crest of the tin-plate workers' company of London, incorporated 22 Charles II., 1670. It is described as "a globular ship lantern or lamp, ensigned with a regal crown."

² Stow, Survey of London, in the list of mayors. This fact is not mentioned by Arnold or Fabyan. On the lighting of streets, Beekman's Hist. of Inventions supplies much information.

used in escorting the chief municipal officer of that ancient Cinque-port town. It is of stately proportions, but not of globular form. A lantern of like fashion is held forth by the *guet* or watchman aloft on the tower, as seen on the reverse of the common seal of Winchelsea.³ The Mayor of Dovor must have needed such accompaniment to his brazen horn, still preserved, the work of John of Almayne, and inscribed with the mysterious talismanic word, *AGLA*. Amongst the payments at Dovor, 19 Hen. VI., I find the item of 8s. 8d.—“pro j. torticio (a link) pro majore hoc anno.”⁴

We might well suppose that so effectual a contrivance as the moon-like lantern, reclaimed from oblivion by our visit to Chichester, would have been available in travelling and used on other occasions. Such was indeed the case, since it was pointed out by Mr. Curzon that two “Moons” are still preserved at Knole. They had, according to tradition, preceded the caroché of Edward Sackville, Earl of Dorset, who espoused the daughter of Sir George Curzon, in the reign of Charles I. There is likewise a “Moon” at Fountains Hall, now in possession of the Earl de Grey; there is another at Kefnably, the seat of the Tynte family, in Glamorganshire, which was carried by a man on horseback before the carriage on returning from dinner at any neighbouring house. It was last used, I am informed by Mr. Octavius Morgan, as recently as 1750. There was a “Moon” at Pepperharrow, Surrey, carried in like manner in the last century, when Lord Middleton went abroad after dark; and Mr. Harrod has informed me of one formerly at Hethel Hall, in Norfolk. Other examples are no doubt to be found, and some of these might supply more distinct evidence in regard to their earliest use in England, than at present I am able to offer.

I have only further to express my acknowledgment to Mr. Mason, of Chichester, who has preserved the relique of old customs in that city, and by whom it was displayed in our Museum. I hope that it may have found a place in the permanent collection there established, and where many objects of interest to the archaeologist have been deposited.

ALBERT WAY.

³ Figured in *Sussex Archaeol. Coll.* vol. i. p. 22, No. 5.

⁴ *Boys' Hist. of Sandwich*, p. 795.

Original Documents.

ORIGINAL LETTER ADDRESSED TO HENRY IV., KING OF ENGLAND, BY ELISABETTA, DUCHESS OF BAVARIA, DATED NOV. 24, 1400.

COMMUNICATED BY EDWARD A. BOND, ESQ., ASSISTANT KEEPER OF MSS:
BRITISH MUSEUM.

The following document (found not long since among the burnt fragments of the Cottonian collection, in the British Museum) will be found interesting in connection with the subject of royal match-making in early times, where the initiative is taken in behalf of the lady. It is a letter from Elisabetta, one of the daughters of Barnabo Visconti, Lord of Milan, and wife of Ernest, Duke of Bavaria-Münich, ancestor of the Electors, to Henry the Fourth of England, a little more than a year after his elevation to the throne; offering him in marriage, for himself or one of his sons, the daughter of her sister Madalena, widow of Frederic, Duke of Bavaria-Landshut. The style is amusingly simple and unreserved, and may fairly incline us to attribute the first composition of the epistle to the Duchess herself rather than to an official secretary. It is some shock to feelings of gallantry to find that so frank a proposal from a lady should have not found ready acceptance from our English monarch. But there is this to plead in his excuse; according to the testimony of contemporary writers, Henry's heart was already occupied. It is said that, while enjoying the hospitality of the Court of Brittany, where he was liberally entertained for some time, immediately before his triumphant return to his own country from banishment, a strong attachment had grown between him and the Duke's consort, Joanna of Navarre. The suspicion was confirmed by the fact that subsequently (two years after the date of the present letter) Henry and the widowed Duchess were united; and, certainly, the energy shown by the lady in smoothing the way to the alliance gives ground for believing that, on her side too, this was a veritable love-match. The excuse for rejection of the offer in regard to the Princes, Henry's sons, was doubtless grounded on their extreme youth, the eldest, Prince Henry, being at the time only twelve years of age. A previous passage in the history of her family may account for the present proposal having suggested itself to the mind of the Duchess. It appears that, during his exile, Henry had taken some steps towards a union with Lucia Visconti, a younger sister of Elisabetta; but that an objection was raised to the match from the then unpromising state of Henry's circumstances. That the mind of the elder sister should have recurred to this incident at a later period, when the exiled Prince had become firmly settled on the throne of England, was natural enough. After all, Lucia was destined to wed an Englishman. She was married to

Edmund Holland, Earl of Kent, in the year 1407, and eventually died in this country in 1424.

A short statement will explain the relationship between the persons mentioned in the letter. Two daughters of the numerous family of Barnabo Visconti, Lord of Milan, entered by marriage into the house of Bavaria; viz., Elisabetta, Henry's correspondent, and Madalena. The former of these was united to Ernest, Duke of Bavaria-Münich; the latter to this Duke's uncle, Frederic, Duke of Bavaria, of the line of Landshut. Madalena's marriage took place in the year 1382; her husband died in 1393. They had three children: two of them daughters. Elisabetta, the younger, (celebrated as the "Schöne Elsa") was married, in 1400, to Frederic I., Elector of Brandenburg; and, as the date of our letter is the 24th of November of the same year, it is safe to conclude that the damsel so highly extolled by her aunt Elisabetta was the elder sister, Magdalena. The date of her parents' union shows her age to have been not above seventeen years. It is needless to trace her history beyond the period of this early failure of her marriage prospects. A high alliance had been contemplated for her; but in place of the sovereign of a great country, she was eventually contented to accept the hand of the comparatively obscure Prince Johann Mainhard, Count of Görtz, to whom she was married in the year 1403. It is worthy of remark that neither in the letter itself nor the address does the duchess give to Henry the title of king. The epistle is on paper and written in an Italian hand.

"*Illustrissime Princeps et domine gratiose! Vestræ celsitudini præsentibus significamus quod est nymp̃ha quædam illustris, miræ venustatis, apud omnesque tam multipliciter commendata quod ipsa vobis aut cuicunque terræ principi, qui quod tam decens est corporis elegantia conspexisset, tanque mente conspicuam et inter homines sic laudabiliter conversantem cognovisset, utique desideranda foret et legitimis gratisque suis amplexibus copulanda; illustrissimi quondam Frederici Comitis Palatini Reni, Baviaræ Ducis, filia et soboles peramata, ex ejus consorte legitima illustri Magdalena, sorore nostra karissima, sibi propagata. Pro quâ et quamplures terræ majores et principes nobis supplicarunt, ad nosque suas transmissere petitiones. Non autem scimus in hoc sæculo quempiam ad quem majus sit nobis desiderium et urgens affectus, quam ut ipsa vestro aut alicujus natorum vestrorum consortio matrimoniali fœdere jungeretur. Nam et illud domui Baviaræ congruentissimum valdeque reputaremus honestum. Ad hujus rei explenitudinem Altissimus, qui omnis boni principium est atque finis, cunctaque fieri ducit in optatum, vos si reddiderit inclinatum (*sic*) id ipsum in vestra litera aspicere delectabit et gaudium nobis afferet immensum. Omnis naturæ creator vestræ sanitatis, nobis solatio, conservator sit et auctor. Datum in oppido nostro Wasserburg, xxiij. die mensis Novembris, anno etc. quadringentesimo.*

"*Elisabetta de Vicecomitibus Mediolani, gratiâ Dei
Comitissæ Palatini Reni et Baviaræ Ducissæ.*"

In dorso.—*Illustrissimo principi domino Henrico, Angliæ Hybernique domino, domino nostro graciosio.*"

"*Litera Vicecomitissæ Mediolani.*"

TRANSLATION.

"Most illustrious Prince and gracious Lord. The intention of our

present letter is to make known to your Highness that there is a certain damsel of wondrous beauty, and held in such high regard by all for her many good qualities, that she could not fail to be desired and sought after as an object of legitimate and dear embrace by yourself or any other prince of the earth who should know of her elegance of person, her superiority of mind, and her admirable bearing in the world. She is the daughter and beloved offspring of the late most illustrious Frederic Count Palatine of the Rhine, Duke of Bavaria, born to him of his rightful consort the illustrious Magdalena, our dear sister.

“Very many magnates and princes of the land have already made suit to us for her hand, in person, or by message. But we know of none in this world to whom it would be more our wish and urgent inclination to unite her in marriage than to yourself or one of your sons. For we should consider it an alliance highly suitable and honourable to the house of Bavaria.

“If the Almighty, who is the beginning and end of every good thing, and who brings all things to pass according to His will, should render you disposed to carry out this matter, we shall be delighted to receive your letter to that effect; and it will give us unbounded joy.

“May the Creator of all nature keep and confirm you in health, for our consolation!

“Given in our town of Wasserburg,¹ the 24th day of November, in the year Fourteen Hundred.

“Elisabetta de’ Visconti, of Milan, by the grace of God Countess Palatine of the Rhine, and Duchess of Bavaria.”

(*Indorsed.*)—“To the most illustrious Prince, the lord Henry, Lord of England and Ireland, our gracious lord.”

“Letter of the Viscountess of Milan.”

¹ A town in Upper Bavaria, situated on the river Inn, east of Munich.

Proceedings at the Meetings of the Archaeological Institute.

ANNUAL MEETING, 1855,

HELD AT SHREWSBURY, August 6 to August 14.

IN accordance with the precedent of former years we are called upon to place on record in this Journal an outline of the proceedings at another of those local meetings, which year after year extend the influence of our Society, through the friendly relations established with individuals and with kindred institutions devoted to the same purpose as ourselves. The retrospect on the present occasion is not less encouraging than in any former year, whilst a new range of research has been opened in the Western Marches, which may scarcely yield in variety and interest to any previously visited. To none may Shropshire yield in the generous hospitality of its welcome. And here we must advert with grateful remembrance to the liberal patronage of a scientific purpose shown towards the Institute by the Lord Lieutenant, the Viscount Hill, and by other distinguished persons in the county, representatives of many a time-honoured race in the annals of the Border. If, however, a large measure of success and of general gratification has marked the meeting of this year, we must specially record a grateful acknowledgment to those influential and valued friends, the Mayor of Shrewsbury, well designated as "First amongst the Towns of England," and the Head Master of the Royal School there founded by Edward VI. Through their constant kindness and courtesy, and their unwearied exertions in favour of the Institute, that gratification has been mainly promoted.

The meeting commenced at Shrewsbury on Monday, August 6, under most agreeable auspices; the Inaugural Meeting took place in the Music Hall at half-past eight on the evening of that day. LORD TALBOT DE MALAHIDE was conducted into the hall by the Mayor and chief members of the Corporation, wearing their civic robes of scarlet, and accompanied by the usual insignia. The Mayor (W. Butler Lloyd, Esq.) having invited the noble President to take the chair, expressed, with marked cordiality, his hearty welcome and courteous greeting to the Institute on their visit to that ancient town. At his request the following address was then read by the Town Clerk:—

"My Lord and Gentlemen,—We, the Mayor, Aldermen, and Councillors of the borough of Shrewsbury, desire to tender to your Lordship, as the President, and to the other members of the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, the sincere expression of the gratification felt by ourselves and our fellow-townsmen on this occasion of your visit to our ancient borough.

"Feeling that, as a body, we are the successors of men who, in the earlier periods of British history, are recorded as the residents of a town conspicuously mentioned in the annals of this portion of the kingdom, we deem it more particularly a duty on our part to give such aid as we possess in the

furtherance of the labours which your Society has voluntarily, though so wisely, undertaken for the illustration of the history of past ages, and for the information of those who may hereafter hold positions in this country.

“To you, my Lord, whose ancestors were connected with Shropshire and the Marches of Wales in the earliest period of Norman history, we tender our respectful congratulations that it should be your lordship’s pleasure to be present on this interesting occasion; and in doing so, we beg to assure your lordship, and the gentlemen by whom you are accompanied, that you will receive, not only at our hands, but from all who take an interest in the honour and welfare of this county, a cordial reception and a most hearty welcome.”

The Hon. W. FOX STRANGWAYS proposed, and Mr. W. W. E. WYNNE, M.P., seconded the vote of thanks to the Mayor and Corporation.

The noble PRESIDENT then rose. They were, he observed, assembled in a locality, hitherto little visited by archaeologists, to carry out the objects for which the Society was formed; it might not be inappropriate, therefore, to offer a few observations upon the position in which the science of archaeology at present stands in this country. It would be presumptuous, in the presence of many gentlemen who had distinguished themselves in every branch of this subject, to do more than allude briefly to some few points. In days past archaeology was merely the amusement of certain antiquated gentlemen who collected reliques of every description without having any real object in forming their collections. The ridicule, however, which formerly was heaped upon the antiquary no longer justly attaches to him, for the subject has been brought within the domain of science, and by the researches and exertion of modern archaeologists it had been made to minister in a great degree to the illustration of history and even of the sciences. He had been particularly gratified lately in the short visit which he had made to Paris, to find the high degree in which the government of that country, in spite of the great demands made upon it by the present war, attends to every object connected with the arts, and the large sums expended in order to collect specimens illustrative of national antiquities. Those gentlemen who might visit that metropolis, he should recommend to go to the “Hotel de Cluny,” with its richly varied treasures illustrative of mediæval art, whether they considered sculpture, working in metals, enamels, or stained glass—everything to illustrate the state of the arts and art-manufactures was in this collection. In the Louvre would be found a noble collection of paintings; first-rate works of Greek sculpture, in addition to the remarkable assemblage of Egyptian antiquities and monuments from Nineveh and Assyria. There were also rooms for the national mediæval artists; there is the hall of Jean Goujon and of Jean de Bologne and the other celebrated artists of the famous cinque-cento period. In addition to these there are the best specimens of Limoges enamel, majolica, and other fictile manufactures, with most interesting productions of metal work in which France was so famous. For many years he had wished to see something of the same description in this country; but he was afraid it would be long before the wish would be gratified. In the British Museum a few rooms have been opened for antiquities; but it was sad to think that whenever opportunity arises for making acquisition of collections of national antiquities some difficulty was thrown in the way. They knew the disappointment experienced with respect to the Faussett Museum last year. That collection, invaluable for its illus-

tration of the Saxon and primæval periods in this country, had been lost, and many others had been neglected. The valuable collection formed by Mr. Roach Smith, the result of explorations in London and the Thames, a most interesting display of instructive vestiges appertaining to the Roman dominion in this country and the mediæval periods, had been refused by the authorities. These were materials for the early history of Britain which no outlay at a future period could replace, and for this reason it was deeply to be regretted that government and the official authorities at the British Museum did not take more interest in securing them for the nation.

Allusion has often been made to the connection that exists between geology and archaeology. Geology was one of the earliest branches of archaeology; and the evidence on which both rested was of the same kind. The discoveries in geology had very much the same effect upon science which discoveries in archaeology were constantly exercising upon history. Instead of reasoning *à priori*, on subjects in which authorities were scarce or obscure, the facts thus brought under consideration furnish evidence for accurate and philosophical reasoning.

Another science—it is now becoming a science—was one which ought to be considered closely in connection with archaeology. He alluded to ethnology, or ethnography. A more important science could not be than that which traces the history of man, the affinity of races and of physical structure, as also of language. By these were explained many of the obscurer parts of history. The subject of comparative philology, one branch of ethnology, had received great illustration of late years by the labours of German writers; and he did not think it was an unwarranted assumption to claim this branch as one very closely allied to the subjects which more especially engaged the attention of the Institute. They knew the great light thrown upon the early history of this country by the researches of Dr. Guest, whom he was sorry not to see on the present occasion; they knew the extent of his examination into the records of the early Saxon and Cymric people—how he had confirmed history by the light he had obtained from these researches, by examining the very spots where the events took place, by investigating the names of places, and by observing minutely the provincial phraseology. By these means he had been enabled to separate the grain from the chaff, even where it appeared to be a hopeless task. Who ever thought to discover truth in the chronicles of Geoffrey of Monmouth? But by these means Dr. Guest had been enabled to throw light upon a most interesting part of British history—that period from the end of Roman dominion to the consolidation of the Saxon monarchy in this country. He quoted these facts to prove how ethnography borrows from archaeology, and yields to it advantages at the same time in return. Whilst also archaeology claims the aid of ethnography it furnishes strong reason for a more close attention to that subject. It shows how important it was that these sciences should be brought to bear upon the illustration of their theories. They thus saw how the combined illustration of monuments on the one side, and the support of ethnography on the other, afford the greatest possible assistance to the historian in his labours.

They were now in a very interesting locality on the Borders of England and Wales. Every person who was conversant with the history of England knew the great events which took place on the Western Marches. There must be many gentlemen acquainted with the local history of Shropshire who might produce valuable stores of information on the present occasion,

bearing on the great historical features of inquiry here presented to the archaeologist. The ecclesiastical edifices that abound in the county, the number of castles that have been spared from the decay of time, the primordial fortifications or dykes, by which in early times the people defended themselves from the approach of the enemy, were most important, and would claim the careful attention of those who were conversant with the various departments of antiquarian research. The debt they owed to the Welsh nation was a great one; and it was gratifying to the members of this institution to meet on a spot where they might claim the friendly co-operation and sympathy of the archaeologists of Cambria. Independently of any other consideration, it was interesting to look around on the district once occupied by the ancient Cymric nation, for they would be aware that it once extended over Siluria. They were now assembled amidst the scenes where the most ancient nation in Europe still holds a footing; it was remarkable that, after all the great waves of inundation that have swept the west, with the exception of the Basque, there was no nation probably so ancient as the Welsh. He was sure this theory would not be gainsaid by any archaeologist of the Principality; but he was afraid they might not admit the qualification he had put to it—they might hardly admit that the Basque nation had greater claims to antiquity than the Cyniri. It was a very interesting subject, and he hoped that occasion might arise for some discussion on this important and instructive question. However he might feel interested in the discussion, which would introduce the Welsh or Celtic language, he regretted that he had no knowledge of the language itself, which none probably could acquire without long residence in the country. He might mention that at present a very interesting work was in progress, which promised to throw information on this subject. He alluded to the contemplated publication of the Brehon laws. The Welsh laws of Howel Dda had been some time since published by the government. In consequence of this there had been a movement to induce government to publish the Brehon laws of Ireland. A commission had been appointed, of which he was a member, and they were actively engaged in the work. There were very few scholars able to interpret these laws, which were written in a very obscure language, considerably different to the dialect now spoken. Two gentlemen, who were quite competent, Mr. Eugene Curry and Mr. O'Donovan, had been selected; and their labours would doubtless throw a great light upon the laws of Howel Dda, for there were many points in which the Irish code resembles the Welsh. On the other hand, they would throw great light on the Welsh language, for although the two languages present considerable diversity, both may be traced to the Indo-Germanic class. When these ancient laws have been rescued from the inaccessible form in which they have so long existed, and digested as none but a German intellect can digest them, he had no doubt that many interesting facts connected with the early history of this country will, through their instrumentality, be brought to light.

In the course of the meeting, so auspiciously commenced, the numerous local vestiges of every period would form a leading feature of the subjects brought under consideration. With these would doubtless be combined matters generally illustrative of the history or earlier antiquities of Britain, and he must advert with more than ordinary gratification to the important work recently achieved through the munificence of the Duke of Northumberland, and submitted for the first time to the inspection of the archaeo-

logist on the present occasion. His Grace, with that liberal encouragement of the objects of the Institute, and that kind favour which the Society had on so many occasions experienced, had directed a complete survey to be made of the Roman Wall, the most important monument of Roman enterprise and dominion in this country. During three years of patient investigation this work had been carried out by Mr. Maclauchlan, whose skill in similar undertakings was familiar to the Institute through the Survey of the Watling Street and of some of the most remarkable entrenched works of the earlier periods. The Maps of the Great Northern Barrier from the Tyne to the Solway, now for the first time carefully and scientifically surveyed, had been sent, by his Grace's kind permission, to be placed in the Museum. So noble an example might well stimulate others to rescue from oblivion the vestiges of the earlier occupation of Britain, such, for example, as the remarkable mountain fortresses by which many of the heights in Shropshire are crowned.

The VISCOUNT DUNGANNON proposed a vote of thanks to the noble President for his address. The Rev. Dr. KENNEDY expressed his high gratification in seconding that acknowledgment, which was carried by acclamation and responded to by Lord TALBOT. The meeting then closed.

TUESDAY, August 7.

A meeting of the Section of History took place at the Guildhall, the Viscount DUNGANNON, President of the Section, in the Chair. In opening the proceedings his lordship observed that they had now met more especially to compare the history of the past with the existing aspect of things. He traced the advance of religious and secular institutions, of the growth of our national greatness and civilisation, from that dark period anterior to and attending the Norman Conquest, to the accession of the Edwards, and, through many years of stirring recollections, to the wars of the Roses, the accession of the Tudors, and the reign of Henry VIII., when, by an overruling Providence, the selfish passions of human nature were made the instrument of securing the blessings of the Reformation. Coming then to the period of the reign of Charles I., his lordship offered some remarks upon the fanaticism of the republican era, and its effects upon the architectural monuments of the country. History, indeed, was not a mere barren ledger of events, but an open book for the warning and example of future ages. In some of the localities around Shrewsbury there were spots associated with interesting events in our national history; the place where Hotspur fell was in the immediate neighbourhood; in another part of Shropshire was the spot where the unfortunate Katharine of Arragon commenced her unhappy career in this country; and in a third locality, in the Valle Crucis, was the site of one of the first suppressed monasteries. The variety of interesting remains and historical associations justified the selection of Shropshire for the meeting of the Institute, and he was sure that all who took part in its proceedings would leave the town with advantage and gratification. His lordship then proceeded to commend the study and pursuit of archaeology, in their important bearing upon the illustration of history and science. His lordship concluded with some allusions to his own contribution to historical literature in connection with the period of William III. He wished that his attention at the period of his life, when he had published that work, had been called to some institution of the character of the society now assembled. The purpose contemplated by the

Archaeological Institute, and the stimulus afforded by such social and intellectual gatherings as that in which he now had the pleasure of participating, were well calculated to give fresh life and spirit to all historical investigation.

The Rev. Dr. KENNEDY then read a memoir prepared and entrusted to him by Mr. Thomas Salt, of Shrewsbury, on the history of "the Honor, Borough and Forest of Clun in Shropshire, and Observations on the Custom of Amobyrr formerly existing there." It was accompanied by certain valuable documentary evidence preserved amongst the muniments of the Earl of Powis, lord of that Honor, who had liberally granted the examination and use of them for the present occasion. A detailed map of the Honor of Clun, showing the ancient boundaries of the Hundred, and the limits of the Forest, with the course of Offa's dyke, had been kindly prepared by Mr. Salt, and was presented by him to the Institute.

Lord TALBOT proposed thanks to Mr. Salt, as also to Dr. Kennedy through whose obliging intervention this curious subject had been brought forward; and he took occasion to express an acknowledgment of the kindness of Lord Powis, with the desire that many who had ancient documents in their keeping would permit a similar use of them on suitable occasions, greatly to the benefit of archaeological science.

The Architectural Section assembled in the Crown Court, Sir STEPHEN GLYNNE, Bart., presiding: when a memoir on Buildwas Abbey Church was read by the Rev. J. L. PETIT, and its great value as an example of the transitional period in the XIIth century was set forth and admirably illustrated by the productions of Mr. Petit's artistic skill.

At the close of these proceedings a numerous party set forth for Hawkstone, on the invitation of Viscount Hill, and, after visiting Moreton Corbet, the old castle and church, they found within the picturesque and remarkable remains of the Red Castle a sumptuous entertainment, which had been provided in the "Waterloo Tent." In the unavoidable absence of Lord Hill the chair was taken by Sir Robert Hill, who, with most gratifying cordiality, welcomed the company of archaeologists to the ancient stronghold of the Audleys. At the close of the banquet the party visited the picturesque beauties of Hawkstone, the ancient entrenchment known as "Bury Dykes," and other objects of interest.

In the evening a meeting took place in the Music Hall, Lord TALBOT presiding; and a most able and interesting memoir was delivered by Mr. J. M. KEMBLE, "on the Heathen Graves of Northern Germany," illustrated by numerous drawings and diagrams.

Mr. Kemble has been resident in Hanover, and these discoveries are the result of his examination of tombs undertaken in the name of the Historical Society of Lower Saxony, chiefly in the ancient Bardangau, now the Principality of Lüneburg. Mr. Kemble began by some remarks on the Institute, and alluding to the wide field of study presented to the English archaeologist. He then spoke of the general historical tendency of archaeology, and regretted that, although in this the historian and archaeologist might be mutually benefited by a more intimate union of their methods of study, they had not always given each other the help they might have done; the mere scholar looking far too often upon practical archaeology as an inferior and uncertain pursuit, while the practical man, excellent at researches in the field, did not always possess the knowledge and habits necessary to turn the stores of the philologist and historian to account. It was this that rendered such meetings as these

particularly valuable, by affording opportunity for that comparison between the products of different localities, different periods, and different nations, by which alone they were enabled to arrive at true deductions. Mr. Kemble then proceeded to the immediate subject of his lecture, of which the subjoined is a brief abstract :—

The division of archaeological objects which is received pretty nearly by all antiquarians in Denmark, and by a good many in North Germany, is into—I. Products of the age of stone.—II. Of the age of bronze.—III. Of the age of iron. It starts from the assumption of the fact that this is the proper order in which such products have appeared in the world : and that particular periods have been sufficiently marked off and identified by the occurrence in them of such products : even as we recognise certain strata of geology, or periods of the world's creation, by the fossils which the strata contain. Perhaps as a general truth, the first part of the assumption may be admitted. Experience certainly teaches the fact that in many parts of the world, implements or weapons made of stone are found ; and that the populations in those parts of the world have no acquaintance with metals, no knowledge of the way to obtain them from their ores, no skill in forging or casting them when obtained. In proportion also as an acquaintance with implements of metal, derived—in the most cases which come under our observation—from contact with people in a higher state of culture—is found among these savage populations, the use of implements of stone ceases to prevail : the more perfect order supersedes and banishes the less perfect. It has therefore been argued that what we ourselves observe to be the case with people in a certain stage of culture, has been also the case with other people, in a similar stage, and the earliest recorded period of civilisation is called the age of stone, to mark that the uses of metal, and the means of obtaining it, were then alike unknown. By parity of reasoning, one might speak of the age of bone or of horn, as the earliest period of almost any nation is characterised by implements or weapons of these materials, as well as of stone. As to bronze, the state of the case is somewhat different. It rests upon other assumptions. There is no experience here to guide us, as there is in the case of horn and stone ; but still there is a plausible account to give of the matter. Bronze is an alloy of copper and tin, in certain definite proportions ; both of these metals are found in nature, unmixed with other substances ; but this is not the case with iron, the separation of which from its ores pre-supposes a very great familiarity with various chemical and mechanical processes ; consequently the use of copper and its alloy bronze is earlier than the use of iron. Again, the poems of Homer and Hesiod speak of bronze weapons, but not iron, and the Greek authors of later ages evidently look upon bronze as the metal of the heroic ages : therefore, it is argued, bronze or copper implements, instruments and weapons, are older than those made of iron. Others persuading themselves that they had found in Tacitus evidence that the Germans of his time were unacquainted with the use of iron, while those of a later period unquestionably possessed it, have found in this also evidence that bronze or copper is older than iron. The second part of the general assumption is less easily to be admitted : it asserts, viz., that the prevalence of the various materials in certain definite periods is so complete, in effect so nearly exclusive, as to form a decisive criterion and ground of separation of the particular periods themselves. According to this theory, in the stone age there should be no bronze or iron ; in the bronze age, no iron or stone ; in

the iron age no stone and no bronze. But as this division would be obviously too strict, and could not be reconciled with what experience daily teaches us, periods of transition are resorted to ; and a time is assumed for the passage of the stone into the bronze, the bronze into the iron age ; and thus it is attempted to account for the puzzling exceptions to the general theory. Hence we hear of early and late stone, early and late bronze periods, and the like. Some too have attempted to show that the bronze which indisputably does occur in the iron period, and in very great quantities too, principally as the matter of which articles of ornament are manufactured, is a different alloy from that of the genuine bronze period. This, it is known, consists only of copper and tin in definite proportions, like that of the ancient Greeks ; while the bronze of the later age, like that of the Romans, contains a large admixture of lead. It has been generally admitted that all these assertions apply to, and must be tested by mortuary antiquities. It is clear that a stone, bronze, or iron implement thrown out singly by the plough, or picked up on the heath, cannot tell us anything very definite respecting the period of its deposit in or upon the soil. Only when we find such things in particular strata, *i.e.*, at particular depths in bogs, turf-moors, the alluvial banks of rivers, and the like, can we reason with any chance of success as to their comparative antiquity ; and here there are always so many extraneous circumstances to be considered, that the chances of our reasoning leading to any trustworthy result, are reduced to a minimum. But if such implements are found in tumuli, in kists, or urns, with other characteristic phenomena, then we may be able to form more certain conclusions : and then all the circumstances of each period, taken together, will form the evidence for that period, and serve as its distinguishing marks, by which we shall learn to separate it from other periods. These subsidiary circumstances are stated to be as follows :—

The form of the grave itself (in its entirety) differs in the three periods, and these differences are characteristic. The grave of the stone period is what we call the Druidic circle, and the Cromlech, the latter being either visible or covered with a mound of earth within the circle. However, in the north of Germany, the circular form is somewhat less usual than an oblong one, and this in the popular nomenclature is called *Hünenbett*, *Bolzenbett*, and the like, names signifying the “ Giant’s Bed : ” on this account, and in order to avoid such a *petitio principii* as calling these structures Druidic, Mr. Kemble preferred to speak of them under the name of stone-beds. The tumuli, of a conical form, rising from their base to different heights, *viz.*, from four to twenty feet in height, are said to be the appropriate and characteristic graves of the bronze period. The general name for these structures, which include all the several kinds (very unnecessarily) distinguished in this country as Long-barrows, Bell-barrows, Druid-barrows, is *Kegelgräber*, conical graves, from *Kegel*, a cone. These barrows are very often perfectly circular, and perfectly round, not sharp-pointed at the summit, but have probably assumed this form in the lapse of ages, by subsidence or removal of the top earth. The last kind of grave, which is by the most distinguished defender of these views appropriated to the Iron age, is not, properly speaking, a barrow. It is a slight rise in the natural soil, which is probably merely accidental, and caused by the stone pavements under which the interments are found. These, in the north of Germany, are contained in urns, deposited by hundreds at a time in rows, side by side, or with only a few feet interval ; or, what is not

unusual, they occupy one sloping side of a natural hill or gentle incline in the ground, often on the south side, or south trending to west, and consequently opposite the setting sun. In these spaces, each several urn is usually contained in a small kist of stones, which for the most part are round, and about the size of a man's head : they touch the sides of the urns, and are heaped up over and around them, so as frequently to form a very considerable stone heap, having the urn in its centre. It appears that a deep hole must have been dug in the ground ; a flat stone being selected, the urn was placed upon it, and the sides of the kist then built. On the urn was usually placed a cover (sauceur or basin shaped) and over that two or three layers of stones. The whole surface of the graveyard was paved with similar stones, by whose weight, in general, the urns have been crushed to pieces, the covers being mostly forced down into the neck of the urns, upon the bones they contain. The people call graveyards of this description, which are extremely common, by the name of *Wenden Kirchhof* or *Wendish Churchyard*, a historical reminiscence of the ancient occupiers of these districts, which is in the main correct. Interments of this class are probably *Sclavonic*, or (from the particular branch which peopled the shores of the *Elbe*) *Wendish*. Such graves as we find in *Kent*, *Gloucestershire*, and the *Isle of Wight*, as occur at *Selzen* on the *Rhine*, at *Nordendorf* in *Württemberg*, at *Fridolfingen* in *Bavaria*, and at *Londinieres*, *Envermen*, or *Parfondeval*, in *Normandy*, are not found on the coasts of the *Baltic* or on the banks of the *Elbe* or *Weser*, and their tributaries, and consequently they occupy no portion of the attention of those who have put forward and defended this division, into a stone, a bronze, and an iron age. So much for the outer characteristic—the form of these graves : but this by no means exhausts the marks of distinction. These must also be subjected to a careful observation. The mode of interment itself is naturally the first object that arrests our attention. We are told, then, that in the *Stone-bed* we are not to look for signs of cremation : the corpse is deposited entire, and generally in a sitting or cowering posture. Mr. *Lukis* found them in such positions in the cromlechs of the *Channel Islands* ; they occurred in the same way in the graves composed of long split slabs of stone at *Friedeburg* near *Halle* ; and, being found so also in the earliest *Swedish* graves, Professor *Nilsen* has compared these to the stone house of the *Laplander*, in which he spends the winter with his family, cowering over the rude lamp which for so many months of the year supplies him with heat and light. Signs of cremation in a stone-bed are therefore looked upon as transitional or exceptional. On the other hand, the barrow admits of both modes of disposing of the dead ; nor is there any certain sign by which the relative priority of interment, with or without cremation, can be inferred. In fact, to judge by the contents of the graves themselves, at least in *Mecklenburg*, the two customs must be looked upon as contemporaneous. The barrow covers sometimes a skeleton, with or without a kist, or cairn of stones, rarely with a coffin formed of a hollow tree ; or it contains one or more urns filled with the burnt bones and ashes of the dead ; or, in very numerous cases, it contains absolutely nothing, or nothing but heaps of stones. The *Bronze age*, therefore, both burns and buries its dead. The *Wendish* churchyard containing only urns filled with bones and ashes, it is obvious that cremation is the rule of the *Iron age* in *Mecklenburg*, *Pomerania*, *Lüneburg*, *Bremen*, and *Holstein*. The graves at *Selzen*, *Nordendorf*, and *Fridolfingen* may possibly be *Christian*,

or at all events the result of Christian influences, and here cremation is naturally excluded altogether. However, we have not entirely done with the characteristic differences, when we have settled the mode of interment. The urns and other fictile vessels—and such are found in all three stages—must also be carefully distinguished. Now, the urns of the Stone age in which there is no burning are naturally not intended as receptacles for bones and ashes, and they are consequently of middling or even small size: they are sometimes very diminutive, and have spouts like teapots, or are shaped like small bottles, resembling the gourds or calabashes of various savage tribes. Mr. Kemble referred his audience to the numerous drawings of these vessels, which were suspended in the lecture-room, and pointed out that such vessels have obviously been intended to hold liquids by the characteristic forms, as they are understood by Lisch and his followers. The matter of these vessels is a yellowish, hard, well-burnt clay. They are usually richly ornamented with figures of a triangular or oblong form; but the lines impressed are rarely continuous: they are composed of short sharp strokes, usually a little slanted, and produced by a pointed stick, piece of bone, or perhaps tooth of some animal: they are deep and angular, and have nothing flowing about them. They have occasionally one or more large handles, also richly ornamented; but still more frequently two, three or four very small ones, if handles they can be called, whose opening is so diminutive as to admit only of the passage of a thin packthread; from which there seems reason to believe that such vessels were in many cases intended for suspension. The urns of the Bronze age are very different from these, both in form, in substance, and in ornament. They are often very large, because they have to contain the bones of a man, and perhaps a horse. They are usually of a brown clay, very thick and somewhat coarse, often mingled with powdered granite, or other stone, designed to give consistency to the mass. They are mostly sun-dried, or if hardened by fire, have yet not been burnt in a regular kiln. These urns have sometimes large handles, and are ornamented with curved lines, which are often broad and continuous. The cup shape is not uncommon, neither are bowls or saucers rare; but in general these urns increase in size towards the belly, like the ewers in common use. They are in short mostly jugs. The ornamental lines have often the appearance of having been produced by drawing a finger over the yet moist clay in the required directions. The characteristic urn of the Wendenkirchhöfe is very different from both kinds described. It is of a dark blue-black clay, very fine, but still mixed with pounded mica or quartz or some shining powder, which often produces a bright, glancing surface, and is always very obvious in the fracture of the urns. As a general rule the greatest width is towards the top, the shoulder being the broadest part, and the foot inconveniently small. The sides are extremely thin: the shoulder is ornamented with triangular, rhomboidal or oblong figures, produced in general by lines of successive dots, which appear sometimes so regular as to have been impressed by a running instrument like the rowel of a spur. On these urns it is not unusual to find that Greek ornament known by the name of the labyrinth or meander, with or without double lines or dots. All these distinctions were illustrated by coloured drawings of urns, copied in the natural size from the originals. The following are also differences which are said to be characteristic of the different periods. In the Stone age there is properly no metal whatever; ornaments are either made of

clay or of amber. Perhaps we may add to these, rude trinkets of bone, necklaces of teeth, and spangles of mother of pearl; such things, in short, as are not uncommon in the South Sea Islands, and among populations in the incipient stage of civilisation all over the world. In the Bronze age, gold is added to the articles of ornament, and some traces of glass may already be detected; while in the Iron age, silver (which, like iron, must be won from the ore, and is not found, like gold, in a natural state) first makes its appearance; and beads of coloured glass, paste and enamel, become tolerably general. In the Bronze age spiral lines predominate in the indented ornaments; in the Iron age, dotted lines, waving lines, and dragon shapes. The great end and aim of such enquiries, however, must be to assign these various phenomena to the various races which have occupied the countries in which they are observed. And here, no doubt, a great diversity of opinion is formed, even among those who look upon this threefold division as well-grounded, and as useful for scientific purposes. The *savans* of Copenhagen, for example, attribute their Iron age to that race, whose immigration from Asia is represented by the mythical Odin and his *Æsir*; that is, they suppose *their own race* to have first introduced that metal, but they are not very clear as to what race preceded it and used bronze. Some of the Swedes, with Nilsen, have a good word to put in for the Finns or Laplanders as the owners, at all events, of the Stone period; and perhaps this is not the worst guess that has been made. The amiable and active gentleman, however, who presides over the archaeology of Schwerin, and manfully does battle for his views against Giesebrecht, in the north, and Lindenschmidt, in the south, Archivär Dr. Lisch, contends that the barrows and the bronze are Germanic, the graveyards and the iron Slavonic. What he means to do with the Stone age is, in the meanwhile, far from clear; whether, in fact, he means to admit of a Finnic population along the Baltic, as he must on the coasts of the North Sea, or whether in his scorn he is disposed to shove back the Kelts into that stage of imperfection that stone typifies. Such seems to be a fair, indeed a favourable account of the views entertained by those who insist upon the threefold division, as essential to a true appreciation of northern archaeology; and who appear at times a little disposed to be impatient if any other mode of considering the subject be adopted, as if they were convinced that no other could possibly lead to the discovery and establishment of truth. And it is not to be denied, that in many cases their conclusions are convenient in practice, or that our fellow-labourers in the north are distinguished by untiring industry, and an observation of details which is often exceedingly acute and accurate. And yet it seems that we cannot be satisfied with what they have done, or find in their results a reasonable explanation of the difficulties with which we have to contend. Mr. Kemble here again repeated his conviction that the archaeologist and the historian have not gone sufficiently hand in hand in the investigation of certain problems, which nevertheless do really fall within the province both of the one and the other: that written records have, generally speaking, not been sufficiently consulted by the industrious excavator of tumuli; and that the contents of *his* museum have not always met with due attention from the man of book learning and philology. It was precisely at this point of the investigation that the two methods must be united, if any satisfactory conclusion is to be attained: here it is most essential that a reconciliation should be effected between

these two different tendencies of inquirers, whose labours are the necessary complements of one another, and ought never to be considered as isolated and self-sufficing. Mr. Kemble said, "I have, myself, opened as many tumuli and graves as almost any one I know: I believe that I have copied with my own hands all the most interesting and valuable articles of antiquity in the North German museums and collections, both public and private; or that I have had the means of consulting all the works of any importance in which such antiquities have been described. To the illustration of the materials thus collected, I have striven to bring all the notices which may still be gathered from the classic authors of Greece and Rome, and whatever it seemed useful to apply from Old Norse and Anglo-Saxon sources. Neither has goodwill been wanting, nor have pains been spared to win, if possible, a firm and general basis for inquiry. If the subject appears to be treated fragmentarily, it is because it is in itself a mere collection of fragments."

Mr. Kemble then proceeded to state, in some detail, the reasons which induce him to reject the threefold division adopted in Denmark and Mecklenburg, when pushed to its strict and necessary consequences. He denied the characteristic difference, based upon the form of the barrow; declaring barrows to be even more common with iron remains than with bronze. He likewise refused to concur in the appropriation of particular urns to the Bronze period, asserting those forms which are stated to belong to this, to be just as common in the Wendenkirchhöfe of the Lüneburg Heath. He showed from Polybius, Strabo, Diodorus, Tacitus, and other authors, that the use of iron weapons was much more general and much earlier among the nations of the North than was admitted by the supporters of the threefold theory. He proved also the very usual occurrence of stone, bronze, and iron in the same interments, and showed not only that the use of the first-named substance could be demonstrated to have continued to very late periods, but that there was every reason to suppose it would do so. Missiles, Mr. Kemble said, would long continue to be made of stone, although swords and spears might exist of costlier materials. The Huns might be instanced, who, in a similar way, sharpened their arrows with bone, though their swords were of iron. The Saxons at the battle of Hastings hurled mauls or hammers of stone, and such were recorded to have been used even in the Thirty Years' War in the XVIIth century. He had seen various stone hammers which could only have been made with metal instruments, and on which the traces of metal were still evident. But there were other grounds for the occurrence of stone in graves of later periods: a superstitious reverence was even now-a-days paid to it, and in times gone by, must have been far more general. With regard to bronze, Mr. Kemble also expressed his doubt of there having been a period at which it was exclusively used, or in which the total absence of iron could be assumed. On this part of the subject, he entirely rejected Dr. Lisch's views, which could not be maintained for a moment in face of the combined assertions of Greek and Roman writers. The idea of the Germans, at the commencement of our era, having none but bronze weapons, or of iron having been introduced by Slavonic tribes in the VIIIth or IXth centuries, was utterly inadmissible, unless we were prepared to burn all that classical antiquity had reported of the tribes of North Germany; or to give such strained interpretations to passages of Cæsar, Suetonius, and Tacitus, as were alike inconsistent with reason and

Latin. This was, however, too wide a subject to be exhausted on this occasion, and he would reserve it for a sectional meeting, when he proposed to go into the question of the bronze weapons, by itself. Mr. Kemble concluded his lecture by calling attention to the paramount importance of studying the forms of ornamentation on vessels of clay and implements of metal; noticing, at the same time, the error into which, without careful observation, we are liable to be led by the great variety of form which is observed in the treatment of a common principle by nearly neighbouring people: one village has almost exclusively one fashion of earrings, or belt buckles, or the like; another village, perhaps not five miles off, has another and different fashion. We must be careful not to make essential variations out of what is only accidental and transitory. Above all, we must bring to bear upon the results of our excavations, the records left by those who lived and conversed with the race whose remains we are investigating; we must compare with the contents of our barrows, what we learn of the primæval tribes from the more civilised populations, who came into commercial or hostile contact with them. We must collate and combine; ever the spade in one hand, the book in the other. Above all, we must, for a while, refrain from theorising, and attend with vigour to the collection of facts. By leaving assertions *à priori*, and establishing a severe induction as our principle, we shall obtain results unexpected and surprising. Mr. Kemble wished what he had said, and what he had exhibited, to be taken as his very small contribution to a comparative view of mortuary ceremonial in this country, and those parts of Germany, from which, more especially, our Teutonic forefathers had wandered to our shores.

WEDNESDAY, August 8.

This day was occupied in an excursion to the Roman remains at Wroxeter, the Abbey of Buildwas and Wenlock Priory. At the former place the Rev. H. M. Scarth was a very efficient *cicerone*, and pointed out the various remains of the extensive city of *Uriconium*, especially the vestiges of ancient structures more recently discovered, massive fragments of pillars, sculptured shafts and capitals, preserved in the gardens of the houses occupied by Mr. Oatley and Mr. E. Stanier, who, as also the Vicar, the Rev. E. Egremont, afforded every facility for the gratification of their visitors. Representations of several of these sculptured remains have been given, with a notice of the present state of Wroxeter, in Mr. Roach Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. iii. p. 29. A visit was made to the church, which presents some architectural features worthy of notice. From Wroxeter the party proceeded by Cressage and Sheinton to Wenlock, where the remarkable ruins of the conventual church, the chapter-house and Prior's lodging were examined, under the guidance of the Rev. C. H. Hartshorne. After a generous entertainment provided by the Mayor, (Mr. H. Dickinson) the visitors repaired to the church, the town hall, and the Museum of the Wenlock Literary Society. Returning to Shrewsbury by Buildwas Abbey, and Atcham, memorable as the birth-place of the historian, Ordericus Vitalis, chaplain to the Conqueror, the party were welcomed to dinner at Longner Hall by Mr. Robert Burton, whose hospitable courtesies on this festive day will long be remembered.

THURSDAY, August 9.

At ten o'clock the Section of Antiquities assembled in the *Nisi Prius*

Court at the Guildhall. The President, Mr. W. W. E. WYNNE, M.P., took the chair, and after a short preliminary address, the following memoirs were read :—

On certain British and Scandinavian Crosses, hitherto undescribed, existing in the Isle of Man. By the Rev. J. G. CUMMING, M.A., who produced a large series of representations of the Runic inscriptions and sculptured monuments in that island.

The Roman Vestiges at Wroxeter.—By the Rev. H. M. SCARTH.

Notices and Inventories of Church Goods in the Town of Shrewsbury at the time of the Reformation.—By Mr. JOSEPH HUNTER, V.P.S.A. (Printed in this volume, p. 269.)

In the Section of Architecture, Sir STEPHEN GLYNNE, Bart., presided, and the following communications were read :—

Architectural history of Ludlow Church.—By Mr. R. KYRKE PENSON, F.S.A.

Notices of St. Mary's Church, Shrewsbury, and of its chief architectural features.—By Mr. M. HOLBECHE BLOXAM, F.S.A.

The Pictorial Decoration of Ancient Churches. By Mr. George SCHARF, Jun., F.S.A. In this most interesting and instructive dissertation, which was illustrated by a series of beautiful drawings, Mr. Scharf ably set forth the means employed in the interior enrichment of churches, from the earliest period, both in the Greek and in the Roman schools of art. He gave an account of the early Christian Mosaics, thus employed, especially those of St. Sophia, of Ravenna, of Monreale, &c., and he proceeded to treat of the most important works in fresco in Italy, at Assisi, the Campo Santo at Pisa, Florence, &c., continuing the history of church decoration to the time of the great artists of the sixteenth century.

Mr. SCHARF offered also some remarks on the Painted Glass in St. Mary's Church, Shrewsbury, and the artistic principles to be observed in the composition, colouring, and treatment of decorations of that class.

At the close of the sectional proceedings the Noble President and members of the Institute assembled to receive deputations from the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, and from the kindred Society established at Chester. Several influential members of those Societies had made a special visit to Shrewsbury on this day, to express the cordiality of their feelings towards the Institute, and offer every assurance of friendly welcome, in the event of a meeting being held in a future year in the Palatinate. The Rev. Dr. HUME, Secretary of the Historic Society, which has for some years pursued its course with so much energy and success at Liverpool, tendered a very gratifying invitation from that Society, with the hope that on an early occasion, whilst the agreeable reminiscences of the present meeting were fresh in their recollection, the Institute might make choice either of Liverpool or Chester as the scene of their future proceedings. The Rev. W. H. MASSIE, who represented the Cheshire Archaeological and Historical Society, in the absence of their Secretary, Mr. Hicklin, High Sheriff of Chester, then delivered a requisition to the same effect from the archaeologists of that city, and he confirmed the gratifying assurance tendered by Dr. Hume, that whether the next or any future meeting of the Institute should take place at Chester or Liverpool, both the local societies would heartily unite in giving welcome and co-operation.

LORD TALBOT expressed the satisfaction with which such invitations must

be received by the Institute, and hailed the pledge of closer sympathy and union with the valuable local Institutions devoted to kindred purposes. The Institute had not many days previously been honoured with a requisition from the Town Council of Chester, inviting the Society to hold the Annual Congress for the ensuing year in that city. They had also the gratification to receive from the Council of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire a similar request that they should visit the Counties Palatine, a request confirmed in so friendly a manner by Dr. Hume and the gentlemen accompanying the deputations on this occasion. He (Lord Talbot) could not speak too warmly of the pleasure with which he had shared the reception given to the British Association at Liverpool; and especially in the occasion it had afforded him of examining the remarkable museum formed through the taste and spirit of Mr. Mayer, and recently enriched by the valuable acquisition of the "Faussett Collections." The selection of the next place of meeting did not rest with himself or with the present assembly; but he confidently hoped that at some early period the members of the Institute might avail themselves of that most agreeable invitation, for which he desired to return their warmest thanks.

In the afternoon, a numerous party, accompanied by the visitors from Chester and Liverpool, after inspecting the Museum of the Institute at the Schools, assembled at St. Mary's Church, when Mr. Bloxam directed their attention to its architectural details, the sepulchral monuments, &c., and Mr. Scharf resumed his observations on the painted glass, pointing out the characteristics of period and style throughout the extensive assemblage of examples there displayed. They proceeded to visit the principal objects of interest in the town, the Abbey Church, the remains of the town walls, the council house and other examples of domestic architecture, especially the ancient mansion known as "Vaughan's Place," and the Museum of the Shropshire Natural History and Antiquarian Society, to which the principal hall, a lofty and very suitable building, has recently been appropriated. This collection, lately arranged with great care under the intelligent direction of Dr. Henry Johnson and other members of that Society, had been kindly thrown open to the Institute.

The Anniversary Dinner took place on this day in the Music Hall, Lord Talbot presiding, supported by the Earl of Powis, Viscount Duncannon, the Worshipful the Mayor, the Hon. W. Fox Strangways, Sir Baldwin Leighton, Bart., Sir Stephen Glynne, Bart., the Rev. Dr. Kennedy, Mr. W. W. Wynne, M.P., the High Sheriff of Chester, with several gentlemen who had taken part in the Deputations before mentioned.

In the evening a most agreeable conversation was given by the Head Master of King Edward's School and Mrs. Kennedy. The library and adjacent rooms were tastefully arranged for the reception of a very numerous party; the Museum of the Institute, formed by Dr. Kennedy's kind permission, in the Upper School, was lighted up with very picturesque effect; and the graceful character of the reception in those venerable resorts of learning has scarcely been equalled by any of the festive and courteous hospitalities which have favoured the progress of the Society in past years.

FRIDAY, August 10.

This day was devoted to an excursion to Ludlow, some other objects of considerable archæological interest being visited on the way. The first

was Stoke Say Castle, a castellated mansion partly of the times of Edward I., the license to crenellate having been given to Laurence de Ludelawe in 1291. The remarkable features of this structure have been well illustrated in the late Mr. Hudson Turner's "Account of Domestic Architecture in England," p. 157; where a ground-plan and several views are given. The present owner of the castle, the Earl of Craven, has recently caused certain restorations to be made, which have been very judiciously carried out under the direction of Mr. Stackhouse Acton. Bromfield Priory Church was then visited, and the site of the conventual buildings; also the Church of Stanton Lacy, which presents some features of Saxon work, and certain curious details, illustrated in this Journal, vol. iii., pp. 285, 297, by Mr. Petit and Mr. Hartshorne. On reaching Ludlow the company were most hospitably entertained by the Mayor, Rodney Anderson, Esq. They were then conducted over the church by the Vicar, the Rev. J. Phillips, and Mr. Kyrke Penson, by whose interesting discourse on the previous day they had been prepared for the examination of this fine architectural example. Lord Dungannon, who had taken much interest in the recent restorations, carried out under Mr. Penson's direction, offered some remarks on the fine sculptured reredos and other remarkable details. The party then proceeded to the noble remains of Ludlow Castle, anciently the seat of government of the Welsh marches. Mr. Hartshorne kindly took the part of cicerone on the occasion, and drew special attention to those portions and features by which the work of various periods is characterised in this most instructive specimen of military architecture.

A numerous collection of drawings, plans, &c., was displayed for the gratification of the visitors, through the kindness of the Mayor, who, as also the Vicar and other gentlemen connected with the place, had in the most obliging manner made every arrangement to ensure satisfaction.

On the return to Shrewsbury, at the close of this agreeable day, the noble President and all the members of the Institute attending the meeting were invited to a banquet by the Mayor of Shrewsbury. The numerous company who enjoyed this remarkable display of old English hospitalities included the Corporation, Lieut. Col. Corbett and the officers of the Shropshire Militia, the Mayors of Ludlow, Oswestry, and Wolverhampton, and many persons of note in the county who had taken friendly interest in the visit of the Institute.

SATURDAY, August 11.

At a meeting of the Section of Antiquities the Chair was taken by LORD TALBOT, and Mr. KEMBLE delivered a discourse on certain vestiges of the Races in the so-called Age of Bronze, and more especially their weapons. He displayed drawings of a large variety of swords and weapons of bronze, comprising many ornamented and striking specimens preserved in various collections in the North of Germany. He concluded by expressing his conviction that the bronze swords, so peculiar and beautiful in their form, are reliques of a race which may be designated as Iberian. Traces of that race occur in all countries of Europe in remains of gold, flint and bronze, but never of silver or iron.

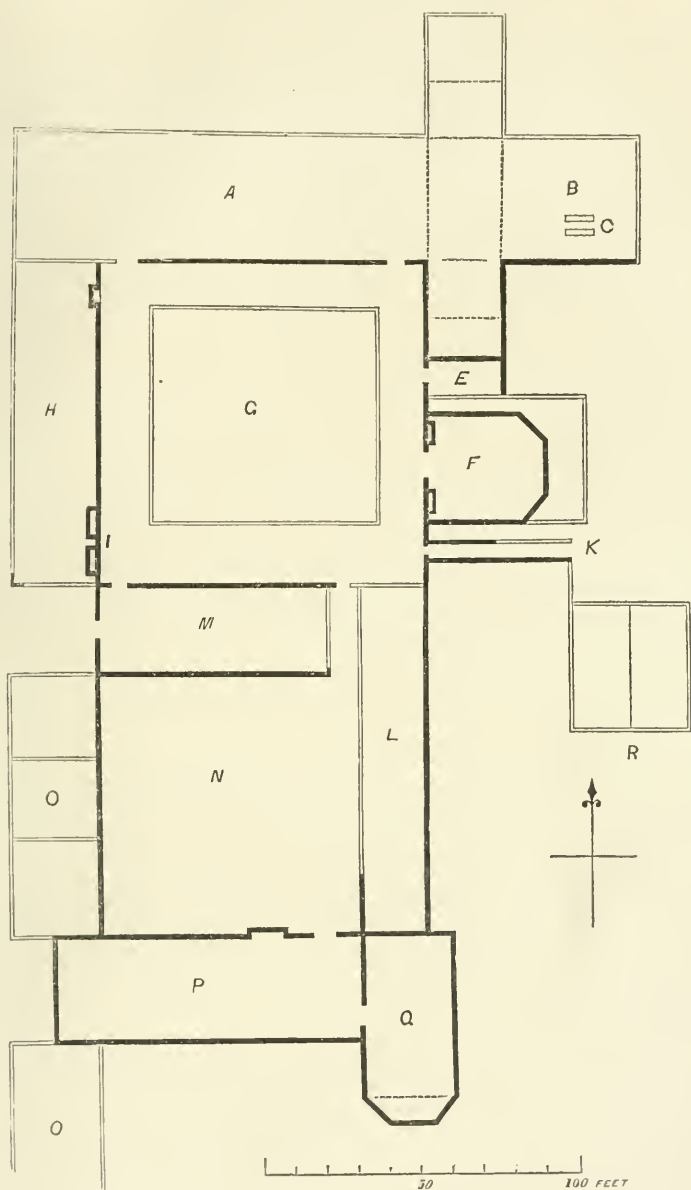
Mr. WYNNE communicated an account of a singular object found at Dinas Mowdwy, Merionethshire, in a turbary. It is a knotty block of oak, apparently fashioned to serve as a baptismal font, and is inscribed with the word *ATHRYWYN*. It is now in the possession of Lord Mostyn.

The Section of History assembled also, Lord DUNGANNON presiding. Several valuable communications on the origin and founders of the chief monasteries in Shropshire were received from the Rev. R. W. EYTON, who has entered successfully upon the arduous undertaking of writing the history of Shropshire during the earlier periods, of which three volumes have been completed (noticed in this volume of the Journal, p. 207). On the present occasion a memoir on Haughmond Abbey was read, and on the history of its founders, including the houses of Fitzalan and Stuart, whose origin and early history Mr. Eyton has made the subject of an interesting dissertation. He showed that the date of the foundation of Haughmond has usually been incorrectly given; it was founded as a Priory between 1130 and 1138, by the first William Fitzalan, and became an abbey about 1155. Another memoir, contributed on this occasion by Mr. Eyton, relating to the early history of Lilleshall Abbey, has been published in this Journal (See p. 229, in this volume).

At the close of the proceedings in the Sections, an excursion was arranged, through the very friendly invitation of Andrew W. Corbet, Esq., of Sundorne Castle, to visit several objects of interest on his property,—the ancient moated mansion of the Hussey family at Albright-Hussey, which was held against the Parliamentary forces during the civil war; also the scene of the memorable conflict between Henry IV. and the Percies, July 21, 1403, and the collegiate church founded in commemoration of the victory. The king, it is believed, took part in this foundation, and his effigy is to be seen on the east end of the church; the structure has been suffered to fall into decay, and its present neglected condition is much to be regretted, associated as it is with an historical event of so much importance. It may be hoped that the good taste of Mr. Corbet, on whose estates the Battle-field is situate, and the renewed interest which the late visit of the Institute may have aroused, will ere long cause some timely measures to be taken for the conservation of this church, an object which appears deserving of the aid and encouragement of government. The party then proceeded to the picturesque ruins of Haughmond Abbey, where they were welcomed with the most hospitable kindness by Mr. and Mrs. Corbet, a sumptuous entertainment having been provided in the “Waterloo Tent,” which through Lord Hill’s kindness was placed on this festive occasion amidst the ruins of the conventual refectory and buildings. In addition to the ample provisions for the gratification of his guests, they were indebted to Mr. Corbet’s obliging forethought in an Archaeological point of view; considerable excavations having been made by his direction, the beautiful Chapter-house and other remains cleared of encumbrances, the ground-plan of the cruciform church and the conventual buildings, which had been exceedingly obscure, was in great part distinctly traced. Their arrangement was explained by the Rev. F. Baker, who had been actively occupied in directing the excavations, and who has kindly supplied the plan here given, from the measurements taken by him during the progress of the work. The church, of simple cruciform plan, with a central tower, had a choir of short proportions as at Buildwas. There is still seen the sepulchral slab of John Fitzalan, Lord of Clun, who died 1270, great-grandson of the founder, and that of his wife, Isabel, daughter of Roger Mortimer, Earl of Wigmore.¹ They

¹ Engraved, *Gent. Mag.* xev. Part I. p. 497, with an account by the Rev. W. A. Leighton.

HAUGHMOND ABBEY, SHROPSHIRE.



A, Nave of the Church. B, Choir. C, Sepulchral slabs. D, Norman door to cloisters. E, Sacristy. F, Chapter-house. G, Cloisters. H, Dormitory. I, Lavatory. K, Passage towards abbot's lodging. L, Monks' day room. M, Refectory. N, Second Court. O, O, Offices. P, Abbot's hall, or guest hall. Q, Abbot's house, or hospitium (?) R, Possible position of abbot's lodging.

Ground-Plan of the Conventual Church and Buildings.

Taken during Excavations made in August, 1855, by direction of Andrew W. Corbet, Esq.

were found in 1811. Considerable remains of decorative tile pavements had been exposed to view on the previous day. Near the south-west angle of the nave a rich Norman doorway remains, which led to the cloisters. On the jambs were sculptured, as supposed in the XIVth century, figures of St. Peter and St. Paul, under canopies, and some of the mouldings were altered. A smaller doorway, adjoining to this, led to the dormitory, situate on the west side of the cloister court. The Chapter-house, adjoining the south transept, is the most remarkable portion of the existing remains; its triple-arched front appears to have undergone some modification, and been enriched with sculptured figures at the same period as the doorway already mentioned. The north and east walls of the Chapter-house, and the present ceiling, may have been constructed in the XVIth century, when the building appears to have been considerably reduced in size. On the south side of the cloister court Mr. Baker traced the Refectory, approached by a fine doorway, of which one side only remains, and near this are two recesses, which formed the Lavatory. Beyond this, on the south, is a second court, on the east side of which appear to have been the monks' day-room and the abbot's lodging, or, as suggested by Mr. Bloxam, the hospitium, and adjoining this is a spacious hall, with remains of a fine window at the west end. This portion of the building, with the offices occupying the west side of the second court, was used as a dwelling-house by the Barker family, after the Suppression, and has undergone considerable alterations. A wide fire-place was constructed on the north side of the great hall, but originally this chamber was doubtless warmed by an open hearth in the centre. The annexed sketch will suffice to give a general notion of the arrangements, and to call attention to these interesting remains, which are deserving of careful investigation. At a short distance from the site of the Abbey, a circular British entrenchment occupies a commanding position on the higher ground; it is known as Sunderton camp, or Ebury. After viewing these varied features of Archaeological interest, and highly gratified by the graceful hospitality and courtesies of Mr. and Mrs. Corbet, the company returned to Shrewsbury by Sundorne Castle, where some curious portraits and works of art are preserved, especially an antique statue of Venus, bearing the name of the Greek sculptor Eraton, who is mentioned by Winckelman and other writers,—ΕΡΑΤΩΝ ΕΒΟΙΕΙ. There also is the Chartulary of Haughmond Abbey, a manuscript of the XIVth century, in fine preservation, which through Mr. Corbet's liberal permission was placed in the museum of the Institute during the meeting.

On Sunday morning Lord Talbot with the Vice-Presidents, members of the Central Committee and of the Institute, present in Shrewsbury, assembled at the County Hall, and accompanied the Mayor, the Town Clerk, and principal members of the Corporation, in their official robes, according to their accustomed solemn procession, to St. Mary's Church. An impressive discourse, the subject being taken from Hebrews, ch. viii., v. 13, was delivered by the Rev. Dr. Kennedy, who had very kindly consented to preach on this occasion.

MONDAY, August 13.

At an early hour an excursion was arranged to visit Chirk Castle, Llangollen, and Valle Crucis Abbey. The special train first stopped at Whittington, in order to allow the party to inspect the remains of the Castle

of the FitzWarines, a picturesque gateway and extensive entrenchments. Thence they proceeded to the remarkable timbered mansion of Park Hall, one of the best examples of the "black and white" or framed work of the sixteenth century, and there received a cordial welcome through the kind invitation of Mr. Kinchant, the possessor of that curious structure, and the obliging attentions of his relative, Mr. Caton, to whose indefatigable exertions the Institute were indebted for the successful arrangements of the day. Under his friendly guidance the numerous company proceeded to Chirk, and by canal to Llangollen. The fly-boat, by which they were enabled to reach their destination, had been liberally provided, at Mr. Caton's request, by the Mayor of Wolverhampton and Mr. Gibbs, of that town, whence it was specially despatched to facilitate the arrangements of this day. The inscribed pillar of Eliseg, Valle Crucis Abbey, and the interior of the conventual church, recently cleared of the mass of ruins by which it was encumbered, formed the chief objects of interest. The exploration of the ruins has been carried out by direction of Lord Dungannon and Mr. Wynne, and many details, tombs, and architectural features brought to light. An account of these discoveries is given in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, N.S., vol. ii., pp. 282, 328, and a full account of the Abbey by the Rev. John Williams may be found in the earlier series of that Journal, vol. i., p. 17.

TUESDAY, August 14.

The customary annual meeting of the Members of the Institute, to receive the reports of the Auditors and of the Central Committee, and to determine the place of meeting for the ensuing year, took place at the County Hall, at nine o'clock, Edward Hawkins, Esq., Treasurer, in the chair.

The Auditors' Report for the previous year was read (printed in this volume, p. 204). On the proposition of the Rev Hugh Jones, D.D., seconded by Mr. Babington, it was unanimously adopted, as was also the following Annual Report of the Committee.

At the conclusion of another Annual Assembly, and another year of the progress of the Institute in carrying out purposes which appear to have won, with advancing years, a larger measure of public sympathy, the Central Committee viewed with encouragement and pleasure the higher and more scientific character of Archæological investigations, and the earnest intelligence evinced in their prosecution. The position of Archæology in England seemed each year to become more firmly based, and the range of its influence extended; a loyal and patriotic feeling was inseparable from the growing interest in the conservation of all National Monuments, in the keen search after Historic Truth, or in tracing the establishment of National Institutions. No slight impulse, doubtless, had been given since the last assembly of the Society at Cambridge, through the cordial recognition which Archæology had found in that University, and chiefly, as must be held in grateful remembrance, from that gracious encouragement with which Archæology was honoured on that occasion in the sanction of the Prince Chancellor, and his personal participation in the proceedings.

The rapid growth of Provincial Societies devoted to purposes kindred to our own, and the increase of fellow-labourers in every department of historical and archæological research, has advantageously concentrated the results of local observations in various parts of the realm, both in

meetings and publications, to which an essential feature of attraction is given in their more exclusively local interest. The Committee viewed with satisfaction year by year the progress of such provincial institutions as have been formed by the archaeologists of Norfolk and other eastern counties, of Cambridge, of Sussex, Wiltshire, and Somerset, of Cheshire and Lancashire, of Newcastle and of Scotland, by the energetic antiquaries of Cambria, who have for some years carried out with excellent effect annual gatherings of a similar character to our own, and many other provincial societies, with whom the Institute is ever desirous to maintain friendly relations and unanimity of purpose. In the retrospect of the past year an increasing stimulus appears to have been given to individual exertions in several quarters; and the Committee must specially advert to the investigation of one of the most remarkable monuments of the earlier period existing in these islands, the "Giant's Chamber" at Uleybury, explored under the intelligent care of Mr. Freeman and Dr. Thurnam, in accordance with the announcement made at the annual meeting at Cambridge. The facts there brought to light cannot fail to be viewed with lively interest by foreign antiquaries, as compared with similar vestiges of the obscurer periods in various parts of the continent and in the Channel Islands. Amongst researches carried out by other members of the Institute, during the past year, honourable mention must again be made of the indefatigable exertion of Mr. Neville in exploring the Roman and Saxon remains in Essex and Cambridgeshire. The charge of removing to a place of security the beautiful mosaics discovered at Cirencester has been entrusted to Professor Buckman, whose interesting volume on *Corinium*, and frequent communications on his discoveries at that place, have made us familiar with the important vestiges of Roman occupation brought to light under his able direction. The liberality of Lord Bathurst has caused a suitable structure to be erected for the preservation of these tessellated floors, the removal of which demanded the utmost skill and precaution. In foreign lands also the well-directed efforts of two able coadjutors of the Institute claim special commendation. In the north of Germany Mr. Kemble has for some time pursued a most important and systematic investigation of the interments and vestiges of the earlier ages, and the extensive collections at Hanover, the formation and scientific arrangement of which is mainly due to that distinguished antiquary, have thrown an important light on periods hitherto involved in the greatest obscurity. Amongst ancient sites still more remote, the Institute will hail with gratification the success of their valued friend and fellow labourer, Mr. Charles Newton, in his researches in the Greek Islands adjacent to the Troad, and especially his later explorations in the Island of Calymnos, carried out through the liberality of her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, who had supplied Mr. Newton with the requisite funds, and taken a lively interest in his operations.

It was with high gratification that the Central Committee adverted on this occasion to the important encouragement of archaeological investigation shown by the Duke of Northumberland in the important works carried out by his direction. The survey of the Roman Wall recently completed by Mr. MacLauchlan, exhibits for the first time with accuracy the course of that remarkable barrier, the physical features of the adjacent country, and all stations, camps, and other military works by which the wall was defended. It forms an important accompaniment to the Survey of the

Northern Watling Street, executed by the direction of his Grace, and published by the Institute, through his liberal permission, in 1852. A gratifying mark of the Duke's kindness had been again shown in permitting the maps of the Roman Wall to be sent to Shrewsbury; for the first time they were now placed under the inspection of archaeologists, who could not fail to appreciate the value of the undertaking, and the admirable execution of the survey, so skilfully achieved by Mr. Maclauchlan. The Committee hoped that this memorial of the most important vestiges of Roman enterprise in Britain may, through the generous favour of the Duke towards archaeological science, speedily be published. It must still be a matter of regret that his Grace's noble intentions in presenting to the British Museum, through the medium of the Institute, a remarkable assemblage of antiquities discovered on his estates, and thus bestowed with rare generosity, to give an impulse to the important object of forming a suitable Collection of National Antiquities, should have hitherto awakened so little sympathy or interest amongst the rulers of the National Depository. The trustees of the British Museum have, it is true, during the past year, acquired, at a lavish expenditure, examples of Art-manufactures, the curious wares of Faenza or Urbino, the fragile products of the furnaces of Murano, the enamels of Limoges, and many other foreign examples of mediæval taste, which might more appropriately have enriched the instructive collections exhibited at Marlborough House. On the other hand, the loss of the "Faussett Collections," which last year caused so bitter a disappointment to English antiquaries, had been followed by the rejection of the collections formed by Mr. Roach Smith, the most remarkable illustration probably ever combined of the history, the manufactures, arts and manners of any locality, and that locality the chief city of the British Islands. But even in regard to the Archaeology and History of Art, a memorable instance of indifference to the claims of public instruction has marked the past year. The series of sculptures in ivory, formerly in the Fejerváry collection exhibited at the apartments of the Institute in 1853, have justly been classed amongst the most instructive exemplifications of the progress of the Arts from a very early period. These, however, like the collections before mentioned, have been rejected by the British Museum; and it is due to the same intelligent taste and spirit, evinced in regard to the Faussett collection by Mr. Mayer, that these precious ivories have not been dispersed, or acquired by continental museums, where their interest would have been more worthily appreciated. Meanwhile many collections of increasing value have been formed by private exertion, to which access is very kindly permitted to those who desire to study the vestiges of antiquity. Amongst these are to be noticed the museums of Mr. Rolfe at Sandwich; of Mr. Bateman in Derbyshire, rich in remains of every period; of Mr. Neville, whose constant kindness has rendered us familiar with all the important fruits of his indefatigable explorations; of Lord Londesborough, in Yorkshire; of Mr. Joseph Mayer at Liverpool; whilst the extensive series brought together by the late Mr. Charles at Maidstone, has been bequeathed to that town, with a fund for its permanent establishment. The extension of provincial museums of antiquities in many counties has been attended with very satisfactory results, to which the influence of local Antiquarian societies has greatly contributed.

The Central Committee adverted with very high satisfaction to the

encouragement conceded by the Government in furtherance of the interests of archaeological science in North Britain. The extensive museum of the Antiquaries of Scotland will hereafter be suitably deposited in the Royal Institution at Edinburgh; apartments have also been provided by Government for the purposes of that Society, whose renewed energies are full of promise as regards the elucidation and conservation of Scottish antiquities. Very recently the Society addressed the Government through their President, the Marquis of Breadalbane, requesting that instructions should be given to mark all vestiges of antiquity in the maps of the Ordnance Survey now in progress. Lord Panmure intimated forthwith the acquiescence of the Government, and announced that special directions should be given to the engineer department to note all ancient vestiges, tumuli, stone monuments, &c. as also ecclesiastical and other ruins. Lord Panmure impressed upon the Society the value of their exertions in assisting the surveyors with local information, through the co-operation of their members, the ministers also and schoolmasters in their respective districts. How many traces of early occupation in England, roads, barrows, earthworks, and remains now forgotten, might have been placed on record, had any similar appeal been made at the outset of the Ordnance Survey.

The retrospect of the past year may not be closed without a tribute to the memory of those, fewer, happily, in number than on some former occasions, whose loss we have to lament, whose friendly interest or co-operation in the objects of the Institute has in past times cheered our progress. Of its earliest supporters, the Society has lost none perhaps more intelligent and zealous, or more ready to impart his stores of sterling information, than Mr. Willson, of Lincoln, whose extensive resources were of special value on the occasion of the meeting in that city. We must record, also, with sincere regret, the deaths of the Rev. Henry Rose; of the Rev. Dr. Spry, Canon of Canterbury; of the talented Copley Fielding, one of our earliest supporters; of Mr. Milward, and Mr. Coleridge. We have to lament the noble and accomplished Director of the Society of Antiquaries, Viscount Strangford; the able Founder of that important Government Institution, the Museum of Practical Geology, Sir Henry De la Beche, to whose high scientific attainments and intelligence archaeology has many obligations; Mr. Patrick Chalmers also, to whose talents and earnest prosecution of his purpose, whilst labouring under long and severe illness, we owe the knowledge of a very remarkable class of early Christian monuments, the sculptured stones and crosses of North Britain. Here, also, must be recorded a tribute of respect to a valued and obliging member, Mr. Forrest, whose extensive knowledge of the tasteful productions of mediæval skill was perhaps unequalled, and whose precious acquisitions were ever freely at our disposal to be produced for the gratification of our Society. Amongst others removed from our ranks during the past year, are Mr. Deighton, of Cambridge; the Rev. Sir T. G. Cullum, Bart.; Mr. Tucker, of Coryton; and Mr. Cottingham, whose untimely death has fatally cut short a career full of promise.

The following lists of members of the Central Committee retiring in annual course, and of members of the Institute nominated to fill the vacancies, were then proposed to the meeting and adopted:

MEMBERS RETIRING FROM THE COMMITTEE:—Sir Philip de Grey Egerton, Bart. *Ex-officio President*; Edward Blore, Esq.; Thomas L. Donald-

son, Esq.; Augustus W. Franks, Esq.; Octavius S. Morgan, Esq.; F. C. Penrose, Esq.; W. W. S. Vaux, Esq. The following gentlemen being elected to fill the vacancies;—Octavius S. Morgan, Esq., M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A., *Vice-President*; William Harley Bayley, Esq., Barrister-at-Law; Talbot Bury, Esq., Fellow of the Institute of British Architects; Joseph Hunter, Esq., Vice-President Soc. Ant., Assistant Keeper of Records; George Scharf, Esq., Jun., F.S.A.; George Gilbert Scott, Esq.; Richard Westmacott, Esq., R.A., F.R.S.

The following members of the Institute were also elected auditors for the year 1855:—William Parker Hamond, Esq.; Sydney G. R. Strong, Esq., Lincoln's Inn.

The selection of the place of meeting for 1856 was then discussed, and various requisitions and assurances of friendly welcome were taken into consideration. A cordial invitation had been formerly received from the municipal authorities of Southampton, as also from Peterborough, renewed in the kindest manner on the present occasion. Mr. Tucker communicated an invitation from the Dean of Exeter, and from other members of the Institute in the west of England, where it was considered that a visit from the Institute might be rendered highly agreeable. A similar assurance was received from the Ven. Archdeacon of Hereford, from the Town Clerk of Hereford, and other friends of the Society in that locality. A formal requisition was likewise received from the Council of the City of Chester, upon the motion of Mr. Sheriff Hicklin, seconded by Mr. R. G. Temple, inviting the Institute to hold the annual congress for 1856 at Chester. From the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, and from the Archaeological Society of Chester the most kind assurances of welcome and hearty co-operation were addressed, which had been confirmed in so gratifying a manner by Dr. Hume and the archaeologists from the Palatinate, who had honoured the Institute with their presence as deputations from those societies on a previous day. The feeling of some members present was strongly expressed in favour of the choice of Chester for the next meeting. It was, however, finally decided that the encouragement long since expressed towards the Institute from Edinburgh and the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and renewed on the present occasion in the most cordial manner, must decide the choice of the scene of the ensuing year's proceedings. It was accordingly moved by Mr. Yates, and seconded by Mr. Hayward, that the meeting for 1856 should be held at Edinburgh.

The business of the meeting being thus concluded, the Chairman observed that the pleasing duty remained to be performed, to pass their most hearty vote of acknowledgment to all those whose generous hospitalities had so largely contributed throughout the week to the gratification of the Society. To the Presidents of Sections, the Viscount Dungannon, Sir Stephen Glynne, Bart., and Mr. Wynne, M.P., to all who had rendered their aid in carrying out the proceedings of the Sections, and had contributed memoirs or aided the investigation of local antiquities; to those whose kindness had enriched the museum, more especially to the noble Patron of the meeting, Viscount Hill, and to His Grace the Duke of Northumberland, for their valuable contributions to that instructive collection; and to the Rev. Dr. Kennedy, through whose kind permission the museum had been so appropriately placed in King Edward's School. No expression of thanks, however, was recorded with more unanimous

gratification than to the worshipful the Mayor and the Local Committee formed under his auspices. His friendly exertions and influence, not less than his remarkable hospitality and courteous consideration, had ensured a large measure of pleasure and satisfaction during the previous week.

Several memoirs had been communicated, both in connection with the immediate localities and on subjects of general antiquarian interest, which want of time rendered it impracticable to bring before the Sections. A concluding meeting accordingly took place, in which several of these communications were read, in the Nisi Prius Court, the chair being taken by the Rev. Dr. KENNEDY.

A valuable memoir was read, addressed to the Institute by Mr. CHARLES NEWTON, H.B.M. Vice-Consul at Mitylene, and giving a detailed narrative of his recent excavations in the Island of Calymnos, through the encouragement of his excellency Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, by whose liberality the expenses of these explorations had been defrayed.

In expressing the thanks of the meeting to the talented author, Hon. Secretary of the Institute at an earlier stage of its career, Dr. Kennedy took occasion to pass commendation on Mr. Newton's archaeological exertions, during some years past, and his own high gratification in receiving such a relation of these more recent discoveries, doubly interesting on the present occasion as being from one connected formerly with the Royal Foundation in Shrewsbury, the school where Mr. Newton had received his early training, and which might justly be proud of so distinguished an *alumnus*.

A memoir was then read, communicated by Mr. W. HYLTON D. LONGSTAFFE, F.S.A., relating to the History of St. Oswald, and the memorable conflict at Maserfield, near Oswestry, the scene of his martyrdom, from which that town received its name.

The Rev. A. T. PAGET, Assistant Master of Shrewsbury School, read the following notices of the collection of MSS. in the School Library, and certain particulars of especial local interest connected with them :—

“The MSS. all came into the possession of the school within the first twenty years of the formation of the library, from 1606 to 1626, soon after the suppression of the monasteries to which they belonged. It is what we should expect, then, that they would come from our own neighbourhood.

“Accordingly, we find that the copy of ‘Raymond de penitentia’ belonged to the Franciscans of Shrewsbury. On its first page may be read, ‘de communitate fratrum minorum Salopesburie de dono fratris Thomas de Muddet.’ From the same community came, I believe, the ‘Constitutiones Civiles,’ which, however, Dr. Butler attributed to the friars in Salisbury. The Catholic Epistles and Apocalypse, with a Gloss, by a Canon of Lichfield, was once ‘Liber Sancte Marie de Buldvas.’ A Gloss upon the Psalms was once the property of a Priory of Augustin Canons near Wellington, claimed by their challenge—‘Iste liber constat domui de Wombryg.’

“Thus much for Shropshire.

“From Chester, forming as it then did a see of the same Bishopric as Lichfield and Coventry, there are two ‘libri de communitate predicatorum Cestrie.’ These Dominicans kept these two books, the Gospel of St. Luke and the book of Ecclesiasticks with a comment as I believe by their own bishop, but they parted with a third of our MSS., the Scholastic

History, to one of their own brotherhood established in the same county; 'de communitate fratrum Ordinis Prædicatorum Cestriæ concessus (says the book of itself) fratri A. de Knottesford ad terminum vitæ. Et cum alienaverit Anathema sit ipsi pro meliori——? communitati. Amen.'

"Nine others came from the same benefactor (Mr. Bostock of Tattenhall, in the county of Chester) and of them several are written in so like a hand, as to suggest that they came out of the same matricularium as the above named St. Luke and Ecclesiasticus.

"From the same diocese came a miscellaneous English volume; for a Bidding Prayer in this was used in Henry IV's reign at St. Mary's 'hys' in Coventry and St. Chad's, Lichfield.

"The 'Summa' of the Franciscan Bartholomew de Sancto Concordio of Pisa came out of this neighbourhood, to judge from this insertion by the quondam possessor:

"Sunt precata Britonum et causa expulsionis eorum
Negligentia prælatorum, rapina potentium,
Cupiditas judicium, rabies principis,
Inordinatus cultus vestimentorum et detestanda luxuria."

"But to enter no further into these proofs of proximity to the original libraries, add the Franciscans of Hereford to their dispossessed brothers of Shrewsbury, for from them came our 'Dialogi Beati Gregorii de Vita Sanctorum.'

"And as a simple comment upon this test of the probable contents of the monastic libraries, which is derived from a collection formed in a single neighbourhood half a century after the Dissolution, out of two score volumes, we find two copies of the entire Bible; one of the Pentateuch, the books of Ecclesiasticus and Wisdom, with notes; the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. John, with notes; of St. Luke, with notes; the General Epistles with notes; two copies of the Apocalypse with different notes; three different glosses upon the whole book of Psalms; a Concordance of the Gospels; a Scholastic History derived from Scripture, besides the devotional and ecclesiastical literature in the other MSS. Surely the proportion which works on Scripture bear to the rest, will abate the censure applied by those who live in an age of printing, against those who lived in less fortunate times. A note by Dr. Butler, in the catalogue of printed books, of the Bodleian Library, will turn the tables upon us.—'N.B. In this catalogue of the Bodleian Library, there are more editions of Aristotle than of the Bible and Testament conjunctively or separately. Such is Pietas Oxoniensis.'

"Having exemplified the suggestions which locality affords archaeology in the shortness of the transition of these MSS. from the monastic to their present keeping, one can step from the scribe to the author by aid of the same clue. This 'St. Luke's Gospel,' and this 'Ecclesiasticus,' have been traced by their title-pages to the same Black Friars in Chester. The Gospel has for title 'Lucas Magistri Alexandri.' Who was this Alexander? The Ecclesiasticus tells us the opinion of the scribe as to what author he was copying—'Ecclesiasticus, Liber Sapientiæ, Magistri Alexandri de Staneby.'

"Here, then, we are assured by common locality, finding them on the same shelves, that we have commentaries indited by one hand. And who was Master Alexander of Staneby? He was Bishop of Lichfield in

1224, a scholar of the highest attainments of his day ; buried at Lichfield, to which cathedral he annexed the prebends of Tarvin and Wellington. And although in authors, as Leland, Tanner, Godwin, &c., you may find this Alexander variously surnamed,—Wendocus (a name belonging to these parts, I may add) and Cestrensis, and Coventrensis, &c.; yet it is remarkable that these commentaries preserved in the School library, have been as yet undiscovered by his biographers.

“ I will exemplify the impression that locality must never be lost sight of in archaeology, by only one more instance, on which I ask the aid of others for a more exact solution than I can give, of a marginal scribbling that affects to inculcate royalty.

“ The authors of the History of Shrewsbury state in vol. i. p. 375,— ‘ A remarkable entry in the margin of an ancient Latin Bible in the library of our Schools (MSS. in Museo x. 9), affects to record the name of a *second* son thus royally descended and mysteriously born. HENRY Roidō Dudley Tuther Plantaganett filius 2 E reg & Robti Comit̄s leicestr, i.e. Henry Roidom Dudley Tudor Plantagenet, second son of Queen Elizabeth and Robert Earl of Leicester. It is a very fair and beautiful manuscript on vellum, given by Mr. John Dychar, Vicar of Shabury, in 1606 ; and may have belonged to that parish church before the Reformation. Sir John Dychar, as he was generally called, son of Robert Dychar of Moculton, the Elder, was instituted to Shawbury in the second year of Queen Mary, April 8, 1555, and was buried in his own church, Dec. 8, 1620, the eighteenth of James I., after an incumbency of almost sixty years. He was thus competent to transmit the rumours of a very long period ; and having been instituted under a Popish queen, though he afterwards conformed, like most of his brethren, to the Reformation, he was not perhaps particularly well affected to the great foundress of our Protestant church. An attempt, however, has been made to deface the entry in question ; but the ink employed for this purpose was fainter than that used in the original writing, and leaves it distinctly legible.’

“ Thus far Messrs. Owen and Blakeway had examined the School MSS., but a further search would have refuted their conjecture as to the locality of this invention, and added to their information the place of the infant’s birth. At the end of a copy of Gregory’s Pastoral Care may be read in the same hand, and with the like erasures. ‘ Hufreidus et Henricus idem Roydon Dudlee Tuther Pla^{lign} ex E 2 E regina et Robto Dudlee comite Leicestr natus Chartlee Comitatu Stafford domo Co. Essex.’

“ I cannot find an entry of the donation of this MS. to the school library. It is open to conjecture that it was once in the possession of the same family as the Bible ; and that it belonged to a descendant of Mr. Dychar of Moculton ; for there is preserved in it a record of a transaction in the 38th of Henry VIII., at what may be this Moculton. ‘ Apud Mockleston ’ may be found in the note of an acceptance by Henry Liddall, of the benefice of Barrow, Cheshire. But then, on the other hand, Mr. Dychar’s known gifts have always his own name in them.

“ Thus far I might have gone along with the authors of the ‘ History of Shrewsbury ; ’ but at last I discovered a third entry of the same scandal : only now it is in a printed book, a Hebrew Bible, left by will of Mr. Evan Thomas, sometime under-curate of St. Mary’s, Shrewsbury, or rather purchased with money bequeathed by him ; a new book fresh from the

shop, that has only passed through the hands of the St. Mary's Churchwardens to the School Library shelves.

"Hereupon the whole ground of conjecture is evidently changed. We find ourselves with the writer of this scandal against Queen Elizabeth in a free school of Royal Foundation, whose revenues were augmented by that Virgin Queen. Was his mischief out of malice or out of joke? Observe the same hand in all these books, not only to write, but to erase. There is no mistaking the contrast of that ink which turned brown when it should deface, and that ink which is still distinctly legible—a good grey, in spite of time and of effacing fingers. I do not say the same hands, but the same *hand*, for after the perpetrator of the entry had gone round to three books in one library, it is too much to suppose the librarian would have only taken the same means of correcting his falsehood.

"It is less likely to have been done from malice, if it were written after the Queen's death. And surely Messrs. Owen and Blakeway might have told their readers that the handwriting was evidently not of so early a date as the XVIth century. Mr. Joseph Morris of Shrewsbury had, previous to the discovery of these second and third entries, corrected the Henricus Roidom of Owen and Blakeway into Henricus *Roi Dominus*, and had impugned their reading of a '2' for a 'Q' before 'E reg.' But this cannot be done with the two other entries. There it is plainly 'Roydon,' and this was a real name. In the School Register a boy was entered in 1582, named 'Roger Roydon,' *armigeri filius*.

"Still it is no *schoolboy's* hand. It is necessary to find in the school an older man an inveterate scribbler with a ready command of Latin. There was a master at the head of the school, Mr. Chaloner, who exercised his pen somewhat freely and his hand, as seen in the Book of Benefactors and *passim*, is not unlike this, which is so free with Queen Elizabeth. Still he was dispossessed of his school for his loyalty to Charles I., and made better jokes than this would be if practised upon the readers of marginal scribbling.

"I will only add that it is remarkable the scribbler should have known or fallen upon the *first given* MS. and one of the *first given printed* books; and that the form of the erasure is the Greek letter Phi, Phi, Phi."

Mr. EDWARD FREEMAN contributed a valuable Memoir on the Ecclesiastical Architecture of Wales and the Marches, illustrated by a numerous series of drawings. The following communications were also received.

Notices of the Mint of Shrewsbury. By EDWARD HAWKINS, Esq., F.R.S., V.P.S.A.

Historical and Architectural Notices of the Ancient Castle of the Paganel and De Somerys at Dudley. By E. W. GODWIN, Esq.

Observations on a Collection of Contracts for supplying the army of Sir Thomas Fairfax, in 1645. The original documents, supposed to have been part of the mass of public evidences sold in 1838 at 8*l.* per ton, were submitted to the meeting. By W. B. DICKENSON, Esq.

Observations on a remarkable sepulchral Brass at Wensley, Yorkshire. By the Rev. J. RAINE, jun. (Printed in this volume, p. 238.)

The Central Committee desire to acknowledge the following donations, in aid of the expenses of the Shrewsbury Meeting:—The Recorder of Shrewsbury, 3*l.* 3*s.*; the Ven. Archdeacon of St. Asaph, 3*l.* 3*s.*; Sir John Boileau, Bart., 5*l.*; D. F. Atcherley, Esq., Marton, Salop, 5*l.*; Rev. J. M. Traherne, 2*l.* 2*s.*; Joseph Mayer, Esq., F.S.A., 3*l.* 3*s.*; E. Haycock, Esq. 1*l.*; R. A. Slaney, Esq., 5*l.*; Albert Way, Esq. 2*l.*

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

HANDBOOK OF THE ARTS OF THE MIDDLE AGES AND RENAISSANCE
AS APPLIED TO THE DECORATION OF FURNITURE, ARMS, AND
JEWELS, &c. Translated from the French of M. JULES LABARTE, with Notes,
and copiously Illustrated. London : John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1855.

A GOOD book on Medieval Art has long been wanted both in this country and abroad ; we congratulate English archaeologists on M. Labarte's manual being now made accessible to them. The great work of M. du Sommerard, "*Les Arts du Moyen-age*," is far too costly to be within the reach of most persons who take an interest in these matters, while the plates are occasionally inaccurate and the text very incomplete, consisting of four only of the thirty chapters intended to be written. The work recently published under the direction of M. Seré, "*Le Moyen-age et la Renaissance*," is bulky, and the separate treatises of which it is composed are very unequal, and even in some cases very superficial. Willemin's fine work, "*Monumens Inédits*," and Shaw's publications of the same kind, though very beautiful collections of engravings, cannot properly be called treatises on Medieval Art.

M. Labarte's work is the only one which can be considered a manual. It originated thus : somewhere about the year 1830, M. Debruge-Dumenil, a gentleman of taste as well as fortune in Paris, determined to form a collection illustrative as well of the artistic processes as of the manners and customs of the Middle Ages. This collection descended at his death to his son, M. Marcel Debruge and his son-in-law, M. Labarte. The latter was not satisfied with being merely the possessor of so many curiosities. He determined to investigate their history, and to make a complete catalogue of the collection. For this purpose he visited most of the continental museums, and being thus prepared, he published "*Description des Objets d'Art qui composent la collection Debruge-Dumenil*," to which he prefixed an elaborate and well-digested introduction ; it is of this introduction that the book under notice is a translation.

From the form of publication, M. Labarte's work attracted little attention out of Paris, until the sale and dispersion of the collection which it described, when it was not to be procured on account of the small number of copies issued. Mr. Murray has therefore done us good service in publishing a translation. All references to the collection have been omitted, as well as the catalogue. We somewhat regret the absence of the preface, as it gives an interesting account of what has been done towards illustrating the history of Medieval Art, and enables us better to appreciate the scope and intention of the author.

The work before us is divided into chapters, the subjects of which have been determined in some measure by the artistic processes employed in making or ornamenting the objects of the collection.



Sculptures from Chichester Cathedral, representing the raising of Lazarus.

Chapter 1 is devoted to Sculpture. After some general observations on the characteristics of various periods, the author treats of the application of this art to ivory, wood, wax, and other soft substances, ending with sculpture in metal and gem-engraving.

The subject of chapter 2 is Painting and Calligraphy, including illuminated manuscripts, glass painting, embroidery, and mosaic.

Chapter 3 is devoted to engravers' work.

Chapter 4 treats of the art of Enamel, which he divides into various heads, according to the mode of application, and describes at some length. It is, perhaps, one of the most valuable chapters in the book, though now in some measure superseded by Count Laborde's "*Notice des Emaux du Louvre.*" We cannot avoid pointing out a few defects in this portion of the work, which we are sure that M. Labarte himself would now willingly correct. At p. 109 he notices the ornaments found in 1653 in the supposed tomb of Childeric, and a golden platter found at Gourdon, in the Haute Saône. These ornaments, which resemble in workmanship the brooches found in our Saxon graves, he classes as *cloisonné* enamels, whereas, in truth, the embellishments are pieces of polished red glass, or more probably garnet, set in gold. The same may be said of the "Cup of Chosroes," a shallow Persian dish, preserved in the Bibliothèque Imperiale at Paris, and which is, in fact, a combination of stamped circles of red, green, and white glass set in gold, after the fashion of leading in window glass; while the medallion, bearing the portrait of Chosroes, King of Persia [A.D. 531—579], is a disk of crystal carved in relief. M. Laborde has shown that the enamels "*applite*," which are so often found in medieval inventories, do not necessarily apply, as supposed by M. Labarte, to *cloisonné* enamels, but would include all enamels which are "*appliqué*" to the object which they ornament. We may also notice the little importance given to German enamels, which will surprise those who are acquainted with the rich ecclesiastical treasures of North Germany; and the entire omission of Italian painted enamels, of which the Louvre has long possessed fine specimens.

In chapter 5, we find a description of Damascene work, or the ornamentation of iron and bronze by inlaying or encrusting gold or silver. This art appears to have flourished principally in Northern Italy, where it was no doubt brought into vogue by the Venetians after their Oriental conquests.

Chapter 6 furnishes us with a short account of Lapidaries' work, including the costly cups of crystal, and other hard substances, which were so much prized both in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, rather for the richness of the material of which they were made, than for the artistic workmanship bestowed upon them.

Chapter 7 is devoted to Goldsmiths' work (Orfèvrerie), including under that title "not only statuettes, bas-reliefs, vessels and jewels of gold and silver, but also shrines, reliquaries, and domestic utensils, in copper, chased and gilt, enriched with precious stones and enamels; the pewters of Briot, of wonderful finish; and, in short, all objects of metal-work, which in their time belonged to the goldsmiths' art." This is a very valuable chapter, which M. Labarte has partially remodelled for Seré's "*Moyen-âge.*" It includes a very interesting account of the goldsmiths of Italy who have furnished so many men of eminence in the higher branches of the fine arts.

In chapter 8 we have an account of Ceramic art, in which the author traces the history of enamels and stanniferous glazes, as applied to pottery, from their dawn in Byzantium and the East, to their more complete development in Spain and Italy. Then their independent discovery by Bernard Palissy, a man of whom France is now so justly proud, to their full perfection in the workshops of Sèvres and Dresden.

Chapter 9 contains a history of Glass as applied to the manufacture of vessels and the like. The principal portion is devoted to Venetian examples, which M. Debruge was one of the first to rescue from neglect. The various processes are described by which the noble¹ workmen of Murano fashioned those marvellous productions which we admire but cannot imitate.

Chapter 10 describes Armourers' work, and more especially its application to the decoration of armour, weapons, and their accessories.

In chapter 11 is a short notice of what has been termed Locksmiths' work as applied to ornamental iron-work.

Chapter 12, consists of a slight sketch of the history of Clock-work, and the varieties of form which clocks and watches have undergone.

In chapter 13 may be found some interesting particulars relating to Ecclesiastical and Domestic furniture.

Chapter 14 is devoted to a notice of Oriental Art, arranged in the same order that the European has been. It is very short, in consequence of the collection of Oriental objects not having been very extensive. It includes some interesting observations on the early history of porcelain, and on the damascened work of Mesopotamia.

The original book has few illustrations, chiefly selected from the Debruge collection. Mr. Murray has, with M. Labarte's permission, availed himself of these, and has added a considerable number of new woodcuts. A descriptive list of them will be found at the commencement of the volume, inasmuch as some of them are not noticed in the text. We are able, by Mr. Murray's kindness, to give our readers some specimens of the illustrations, having selected those which are most likely to be interesting to English archaeologists.

Plate I represents two sculptured bas-reliefs in stone, which are in the wall of the south aisle of the choir in Chichester Cathedral. They are said to have been removed to their present situation from the Saxon cathedral at Selsey. The style, however, of the workmanship and many of the details would rather point to the XIIth century as the period of their execution. It is not improbable that they may have formed a part of the decorations of the Norman cathedral erected at Chichester by the bishops Radulfus and Seffrid I., between 1114 and 1150, and which was destroyed by fire in 1186. They are executed on separate blocks of masonry, which have evidently been shifted and ill put together. Their present position may have been occasioned by the extensive repairs which were executed in consequence of the fire, or they may have been subsequently displaced to make room for additional buildings.

The next plate is a specimen of sculpture in ivory, being two leaves of a Roman consular diptych. It bears the names and titles of Flavius Taurus Clementinus, consul of the East, A.D. 513. The consul himself is seated on a curule chair, attended by figures of Rome and Constantinople; above are

¹ Glass-makers both at Venice and in France enjoyed the privilege of nobility.



Diptych of Clementinus, Consul of the East, A.D. 513. Collection of Joseph Mayer, Esq. F.S.A.

Height 15½ in.



Tapestry, St. Mary's Hall Coventry.

medallions, supposed to represent the Emperor Anastasius and the Empress Ariadne. This curious object will be remembered as one of the principal attractions of the Fejervary Collection, which was exhibited at the rooms of the Institute during the year 1853. It is one of the series of casts published by the Arundel Society, and now forms a portion of the very valuable museum which has been brought together by Mr. Joseph Mayer, of Liverpool, to whom archaeologists are so much indebted for securing and publishing the Faussett Collection.

An interesting specimen of carving in wood is furnished in the accompanying print of the back of a saddle. The original is $9\frac{1}{2}$ by 5 inches,



Carved Saddle-back. 13th century.

very delicately carved, and of the XIIIth century. It is considered by some French antiquaries to be of English workmanship, which is not improbable. This interesting object was in the Debruge Collection; thence it passed into Mr. Hope's possession, and it now belongs to Mr. Evans, an English amateur residing in Paris.

In plate III. is represented a portion of the curious tapestry preserved at Coventry. Mr. Scharf exhibited an exquisite drawing of the whole at Shrewsbury, which those who were present at that meeting will, we are sure, remember. The original is divided into six compartments, the two central ones represent the Trinity and the Assumption. On either side of these are compartments with saints, and a king and queen with their respective attendants. The woodcut shows us the compartment containing the king and his court. In the work under notice, it is considered to represent Henry VI. The costumes, however, belong to the reign of Henry VII., and it is that monarch who is probably represented. The workmanship is evidently Flemish, but the arched crown with crosses and fleur-de-lis, and the red roses in the border, show that it was intended to represent the Court of England.

As a specimen of enamelled work, we have selected the Roman vessel found in one of the sepulchres in the Bartlow Hills, being one of the finest examples of that kind of work that has hitherto been discovered, but it was unfortunately destroyed in the fire at Easton Hall, Essex. There is a

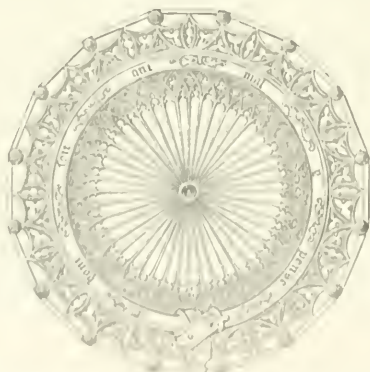
coloured engraving of it in the *Archæologia*, vol. xx., pl. 35, and it is noticed in *Arch. Journ.* vol. ii. p. 157.



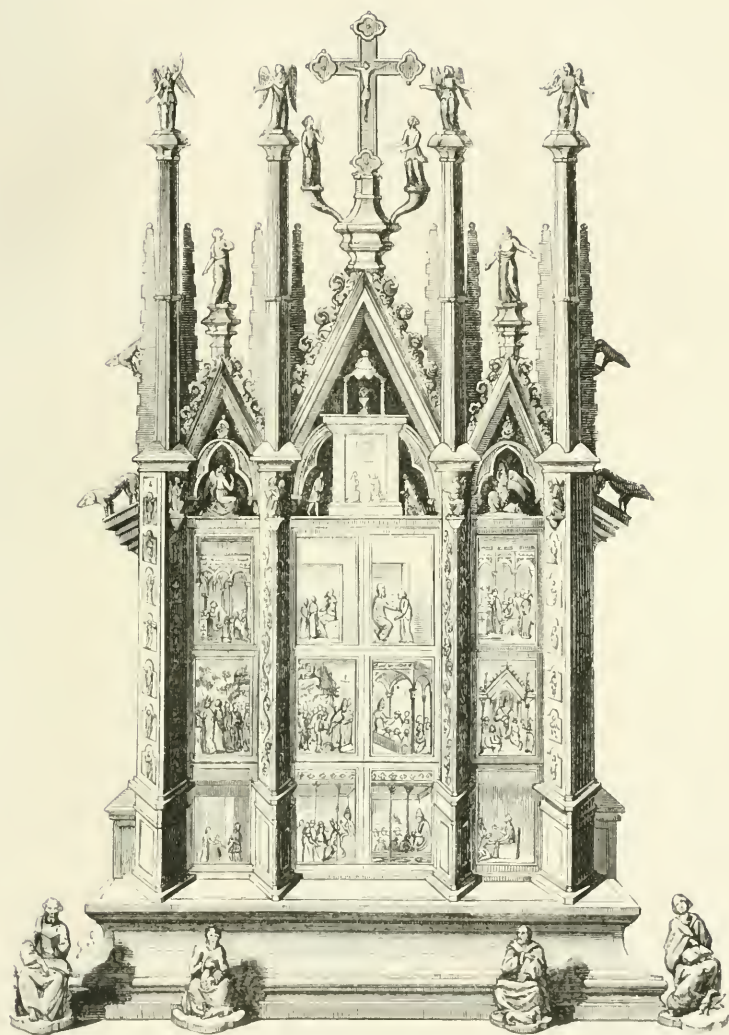
Enamelled Roman Vase. Bartlow Hills.

As a specimen of ornamental iron-work we have selected a scutcheon from a door in St. George's Chapel, Windsor. It has both the merits and the faults of the period at which it was executed, viz., the end of the XVth century, being rich in design and well executed, but monotonous and weak in its details.

The magnificent reliquary of Orvieto, represented in plate IV., is



one of the finest specimens of goldsmiths' work, and one of the most interesting monuments of enamelling that remain in Italy. It has, more-

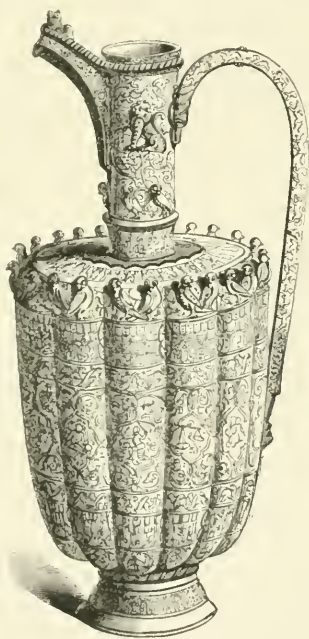


Silver Reliquary containing the Miraculous of B. Cecilia made by Ugolino
Veri. 1338. Cathedral of Orvieto.

over, the tantalising characteristic of being invisible to most travellers. M. Labarte does not appear to have been more fortunate than others. This is the more to be regretted, as the enamels are stated to be painted. M. Labarte, however, justly considers that they must be executed by floating transparent enamels over a delicate bas-relief; the effect of which much resembles painting. This fine work was executed by Ugolino Veri, a goldsmith of Siena, in 1338. The enamels represent on one side the history of the Miracle of Bolsena, which the reliquary was constructed to enshrine, and, on the other, the Passion of Our Lord.

A very quaint example of Oriental work is shown in a brass ewer, damascened with silver. The original is preserved in the British Museum. Some few specimens of this kind have been found with names of sultans and towns, showing that they were principally manufactured in Mesopotamia, and that they are often as early as the XIIIth century.

There are necessarily great difficulties in translating a work like M. Labarte's. Beside such as are generally incident to the rendering of one language into another, especially when the subject relates to art, there is



Damascened Ewer. British Museum. Height, 16 inches.

that which arises from the French practice of enlarging their terms for the purposes of classification, while we are somewhat accustomed to restrict ours for technical uses. Notwithstanding these obstacles, the translation on the whole appears satisfactory. We could have wished, however, that the notes added by the translator had been distinguished from those of the author, as is usually done. That on "Art Mobilier" (p. 2), contains some curious matter, but the words do not occur in that form in M. Labarte's work, the original phrase being "Objets d'Art Mobiliers."

Archæological Intelligence.

The EARL POWYS has accepted the Presidency of the Cambrian Archæological Association for the next year, and the Annual Meeting for 1856 will be held under his auspices at Welslpool, during either the first or second week of September. Detailed notices of the arrangements will be given in the "*Archæologia Cambrensis*." The first volume of the third series of that valuable periodical has been completed, and the first number of a second volume has recently been issued.

MR. RICHARD CAULFIELD, of Cork, author of an illustrated work on the Episcopal and Capitular Seals of the Irish Cathedral Churches (of which two portions have appeared), has prepared for publication a valuable contribution to Irish Ecclesiastical and Topographical History. It is the Diocesan Roll of Cloyne in the time of John de Swaffham, Bishop of that see, 1363—73, and illustrates in a remarkable manner the constitutions and privileges of the Irish Church at that period, the peculiar exactions under which land was held, the suits, services, &c., enjoyed by the lord. The roll known as the "*Pipa Colmanni*," measures twenty-seven feet in length, Mr. Caulfield proposes to give a facsimile, translation of the text, accompanied by annotations. The subscription is only five shillings, and names of subscribers should be addressed to him, North Mall, Cork.

The Rev. W. K. R. BEDFORD has in preparation an illustrated catalogue of coats of arms borne by, or ascribed to the Bishops of England and Wales; an useful complement to the *Fasti*, especially the recent edition of Le Neve, produced by Mr. T. Duffus Hardy, and essential in many cases to enable the historian to identify the several personages. The compilation of such a "*Blazon of Episcopacy*" was in part carried out, and its utility suggested, by the Rev. W. A. Poole, in the "*Reports and Papers of the Northampton Architectural Society*," for 1852, p. 14. Mr. Bedford requests any information available for his object. Address, Rectory, Sutton Coldfield.

MR. F. T. DOLLMAN, author of "*Examples of Ancient Pulpits*," proposes to publish (by subscription) "*Examples of Ancient Domestic Architecture*," of an interesting class,—the Medieval Hospitals, Bedehouses, schools, &c.; a work of considerable practical utility in times when many charitable institutions and schools are erected, and good ancient models are frequently required. The publication will consist of forty plates, including plans, sections, and details, and will form four quarterly parts. Ford's Hospital at Coventry, St. John's Hospital at Northampton, St. Cross, and buildings of the same class at Ewelme, Stamford, Warwick, &c., are subjects in preparation. Subscribers' names may be sent to the Author, 6, Albert Street, Regent's Park.

The SURREY ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY will shortly publish the first Part of their Transactions, comprising—"Surrey Archæology," by the Rev. O. F. Owen; "The Religious Bearing of Archæology upon Architecture and Art," by the Rev. J. Jessopp; "The Kingston Coronation Stone," by Dr. Bell; "The Warham Monument at Croydon," by G. S. Steinman, Esq.; "The Roman Road from Silchester to Staines," by Col. McDougall; and "Wall-paintings discovered in Lingfield Church," by E. J. Anson, Esq.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE,
TO BE HELD AT EDINBURGH IN JULY, 1856.

Patron—His ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE ALBERT, K.G.

THE Central Committee have the gratification to announce that H.R.H. The PRINCE ALBERT has been graciously pleased to become Patron of the meeting, which, in accordance with the encouraging assurances of welcome and invitation received from Edinburgh and from the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, has been arranged to take place in that city towards the close of July, in the present year. The meeting has been favoured with the cordial sanction and encouragement of the Lord Provost and the Municipal authorities, the President and Council of the Royal Scottish Academy, as also of many influential persons in Scotland, who take interest in historical and archaeological investigation.

The Committee desire to invite the especial attention of the members of the Institute to the intention of the Royal Scottish Academy to carry into effect the formation of an extensive Exhibition of SCOTTISH HISTORICAL PORTRAITS in the National Gallery at Edinburgh. The proposition, originated some time since by the Academy and the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, has been taken up with energy on the occasion of the visit of the Institute to Edinburgh. The project having been submitted to the Hon. Commissioners of the Board of Manufactures in that city, and having received their entire approbation, has been brought before the Lords Commissioners of her Majesty's Treasury, and has now obtained the sanction of the government. The great interest of such an exhibition in the illustration of the History of Art, and the elucidation of National History, as also in its bearing on the development of an Historical School of Painting in Scotland, must be generally appreciated. On no former occasion has any extensive assemblage of portraits been brought together in this country for public exhibition, and the purpose originated through the taste and spirit of the Scottish Academy is scarcely less interesting to the antiquary than to the lover of art. It must largely contribute to the gratification of the members of the Archaeological Institute visiting Edinburgh during the meeting in July. The President and Council of the Scottish Academy have invited the co-operation of our Society in furtherance of their important undertaking, especially in giving information regarding portraits preserved in private collections in England, and in any manner facilitating their transmission. Any communication may be addressed to D. O. Hill, Esq., Secretary of the Royal Scottish Academy, or to the Secretaries of the Institute. The Scottish Academy take upon themselves all expenses, carriage of pictures to and from Edinburgh, &c. The exhibition will be placed in the structure recently completed by government, adjoining the Royal Institution, and comprising numerous spacious halls destined for the display of productions of art, for which purpose its position and great security present many advantages. The collection will be under the constant care of responsible officers of the Scottish Academy. Any possessors

of portraits, in London or the South of England, who may be disposed to aid this interesting object by entrusting them for exhibition, may conveniently do so by communicating with Mr. Charles Green, 14, Charles Street, Middlesex Hospital, the accredited agent of the Academy for transmission of paintings for the annual exhibitions in Edinburgh.

The Scottish Academy has evinced every desire to contribute to the gratification of our meeting in Edinburgh, and the cordial readiness to afford every facility and encouragement towards the Institute has been shown in a marked manner, the Government having, at the friendly request of the Academy, sanctioned the appropriation of a most desirable and secure position in the new structure above mentioned for the Museum of the Institute during the Meeting. It is proposed that in the present year the collection, which has invariably formed so attractive a feature of the annual meetings, should comprise chiefly Scottish historical reliques, of every period, with illustrations of the ancient arts and art-manufactures, more especially connected with Scotland. Such an assemblage must prove a most valuable and interesting accompaniment to the Historical Gallery of Scottish Worthies.

GEORGE VULLIAMY, *Secretary.*

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26, Suffolk Street, Pall Mall, London.



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